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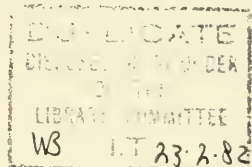
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Archaeological Journal.

MARCH, 1890.

CASTLE ACRE.¹

By ALBERT HARTSHORNE, F.S.A.

I have brought the Members of the Royal Archaeological Institute to this rather perilous eminence because from this point we get the best general view of these very large earthworks. From here we can plainly distinguish the work of three periods and three people—the Roman, the Saxon, and the Norman. When we came through the ancient ford at the foot of the hill a few yards more brought us into the precincts of the Roman camp, we then passed into the Saxon burh, and we now stand within the Norman keep.

Now, first, as to the Roman. A camp of this size at once suggests a situation upon a great Roman road; and we accordingly find, leading straight from the north coast, and impinging on the centre of this Roman camp, an ancient route called “Peddar’s Way.” The subject of Roman roads in Norfolk is at present rather obscure, and proof is wanted, but I see no reason why the way should not be of the age of the camp and the name mediæval.

It will have been noticed, before we came up the hill, that we crossed some level ground skirting the river, and that the whole camp lay before us upon the rising ground. In its integrity the camp consisted of a parallelogram of about 380 by 280 yds., enclosed by a bank and a more or less deep ditch, with entrances on the north and south sides. As we shall see presently, a considerable part of

¹ Read at Castle Acre, August 7, 1889.

this ancient defence has been quite removed. That is to say, roughly speaking, three-fifths of the north side, and one-fifth of the south. This leaves the whole of the west side, and two-fifths of the southern one, in their integrity. There remain, therefore, the whole of the eastern portion, two-fifths of the north side, and the remaining two-fifths of the southern side to be accounted for.

Before we do this let us analyse these Roman defences. Taking advantage of the natural resources of the site, the Roman engineer found that the rising ground was supported on the south side by a broad morass moistened by "the pale waves of Nar," and now level meadow land. On this side he only required a slight bank, with a causeway leading to the ford, or a bridge, over the river. At the south-west angle the bank at once rose, and the ditch deepened. Along the north front, where he came upon level ground, both bank and ditch ran on, and so continued round the north-east angle, and down the slope to the south front on the morass. Such was the Roman camp.

When the Saxon came—I will say in the ninth century—he found the works of the Roman both out of agreement with his mode of warfare and too large for his wants. Yet it behoved him so to deal with it that he could have sole control. He accordingly threw up a mound in the north-east corner of the Roman camp, which he surrounded with a profound ditch, out of which, in fact, the mound was partly formed, and he utilized as much of the material of the eastern side of the Roman bank as he required for throwing out a court on this flank. The court or enclosure thus formed is irregularly broken by some earthworks about half way across it, which seem to indicate the remains of the original Roman defence. The Saxon further formed a second and a larger court in front and southward of the mound, by utilizing and adapting the south-east corner of the Roman camp and striking a new bank, with a deep external ditch, from the south side, running northward, and resting originally upon the mound.

Thus the whole of the Roman earthworks are accounted for, and thus was formed a *burh*—namely, the mound, the

hill of the burh, with two appended courts. Upon the mound was planted the timber dwelling and offices of the chief, surrounded by a timber palisade—a real wooden wall, the courts being further protected by lines of the same defence on the comprising banks. It is improbable that the remaining and larger portion of the Roman camp would have been abandoned to the chance, or rather likelihood, of being converted by an enemy into a sort of *mal voisin*, so this portion would also be taken possession of, and perhaps also palisaded or hedged about, as a refuge for cattle, for the inhabitants of the place, or for men seeking the shelter of the burh from an advancing force. This, then, was the stronghold which Earl Warren found at the *Caput* of his 140 lordships in Norfolk at the time of the Great Survey.

Earl Warren had his castle at Lewes in the days of the Conqueror, and I see nothing here to show that he built a fortress of stone at Castle Acre. He died in 1088, and was succeeded by his son William, who died in 1138, to whom succeeded his son, another William, who died in 1148.

The history of Castle Acre castle has not been prejudiced by much speculation as to its date, nor is there much architectural detail remaining that enables us to fix its precise period. We know that upon such a site as this the shell keep of stone was the usual form of fortress that replaced the earlier structure of timber; but very few remain for comparison of their details, and fewer still of which we know the date. The shell keep of Berkeley fortunately exists, and, more fortunately still, we know the date of it from a charter. It was begun in 1155. On comparing the only remaining ashlar details of Castle Acre castle with those serving the same purpose at Berkeley, namely, the six pilaster buttresses on the outside of the shell, we find that those at Berkeley have a full set-off half-way up, while those at Castle Acre are of the earlier form, namely, simple strips with only a slight break on their faces.

Persons who have studied the growth of buttresses from narrow Saxon strips, to the panelled and pinnacled structures of Perpendicular, will appreciate the value of the slight distinction I have just alluded to, and in a case like this we must make the best we can of the

evidence we have got, without trying to extract more out of it than it properly gives. I think, therefore, we are justified in considering that this keep is at least earlier than 1155, and the evidence of a charter of the second Earl Warren, who died in 1138, in which he speaks of *meum castellum*, seems to imply that this actual stone castle was then existing, inasmuch as the Saxon structure is hardly likely to have endured so late, or to have had such a term applied to it by Earl Warren. I put the date at about 1125. I admit, the actual evidence here for it is slight, but the general history of castle building in the first half of the twelfth century supports it, and it will be remembered that the successor of this William de Warren was in possession only for ten years, and died in 1148. We may take it, therefore, that the second Earl Warren set up the shell keep on the mound, and enclosed the greater court with a curtain wall of masonry. But the mound was not so old, or so firm in its nature, that the Norman builder could be heedless in his work, and we accordingly find that, for greater solidity, the shell was built against the upper part of the mound, the wall showing consequently much higher without than within, and being further strengthened outside, in the north-west quarter only—its weakest point—by the six pilaster buttresses before mentioned.

When my grandfather, Mr. Kerrich, was here, just 107 years ago, he made careful notes and plans of the castle, which were bequeathed to the British Museum in 1828. Great changes have taken place in the last hundred years, but on applying Mr. Kerrich's plans to the existing remains we are enabled, not only to identify the fragments, but to reconstruct a great deal that must otherwise have entirely perished out of knowledge. His plans show four walls, or, as he rightly calls them, "traverses," crossing the ditch and abutting upon the keep. Of these, two were the continuation of the curtain of the large enclosure or lower ward. That on the south-east still remains in part; that on the south-west connected the gateway with the keep, and may yet just be traced up the mound. That on the north-west may still be seen in the bottom of the ditch, and where it joined the second pilaster buttress, and the traverse on the north-east has

entirely vanished. The use and value of these walls in checking the progress of an enemy round the ditches, who might possess the great court, is obvious, and no doubt at an earlier period timber defences were similarly employed. A wall remains, crossing the ditch of the great court on the east side, and there is another crossing the ditch at the south-west corner, of which more presently. It is probable that there was also a wall on the counter-scarp of the ditch of the mound. Mr. Kerrich speaks of foundations on the west side.

He gives a sketch of the gateway as it was standing in his day. It consisted of two half drum towers flanking a round-headed entrance, which ran through like a tunnel for a distance of eighteen feet, divided midway by a portcullis—a defence not common in Norman times. The towers abut right and left against the curtain wall, and are supported on the inside by the walls of the tunnel entrance, 18 ft. long and 7 ft. thick. The whole was solid, and the plan can still be made out, though most of it has fallen down. It was approached by a drawbridge across the outer ditch, and covered by a bastion on the south side. As to the curtain wall of the lower ward, in Mr. Kerrich's time a great part of it was still standing, and he mentions foundations of a tower at each corner, of which the lower part remained at the north-east angle. There was apparently a gateway through it, facing the great gateway, to the smaller enclosure, but no appearance of any wall round that space. Mr. Harrod saw none, but Mr. Hope has just now uncovered a small piece of walling on the south side of the court, and some years ago Mr. Vere Irvine found another fragment on the north; but the whole wall may hardly be taken as proved upon such slight evidences.

More particularly with regard to the keep—the inner ward. It is planted upon the top of the mound which slopes to the south, and we have a good deal of the wall of its original height, with its flint-work parapet and allure. It is very rude work, as these shell keeps usually were, and they had not yet learned to split and square the flints, but the surface is hard and imperishable, particularly outside. The ivy has seized the wall in its deadly grasp, but, happily, draws but little sustenance

from the flinty and rigid mass. It is evident that the walls of the keep were of two heights; about one-third—the upper portion, being ten or twelve feet higher than the lower, the two being no doubt connected by flights of steps from the lower to the upper allure. This outline, with the commanding character of the earthworks, must have had a very fine effect.

As to the details of the inside of the keep, they are rude, but something is to be made out of them. The wall has been much broken down on the east and south sides. First, then, we have at the broken end of the wall, due north, some masonry starting out diagonally, and containing in the angle the end of an arched passage. This is locally known as “Dolly Handle’s Hole,” and is, of course, only the remnant of something much bigger, perhaps a low watch tower; there are the remains of a garderobe below. Working westward we find indications of putlog holes, implying either the requirements of the original construction, or wooden erections planted against the wall, perhaps both. The wall is here of its full height, and the allure quite practicable for hardy climbers. Continuing, we come to the broken end of the wall on the west side. Here we find the remains of a postern entrance, approached, as I take it, by a flight of steps running up the outer side of the curtain wall that connected the keep with the gateway. In the keep wall we have the springing of the vaulted passage in its thickness, and indications of the arched entrance direct into it. The evidences are slight, but it is desirable to seize upon, and not pass over, such an interesting bit of detail, which perhaps a little clearing out might render more intelligible.

We next meet with a fine piece of masonry, broken midway by the end of a wall projecting from it. A few feet above the grass are marks of a low barrel vaulting along the face of the wall, which here is of its full height, and exhibits two original crenelles or openings in the parapet. I think this vault sustained a stone platform and shelter for the guard or watch, the common room being below; they would keep a look-out through the crenelles which covered the gateway.

Now, a very important part of the enceinte is missing. It is inconceivable that a shell keep of this size was merely

entered by a doorway, a hole in the wall, and had no strong ingress. The mass of masonry in the wall at this point, as well as the amount of material that has fallen into the ditch, forbids the supposition that the wall simply ran on, and it appears that the entrance was made, as at Lincoln, between two broad buttresses or masses of masonry, and that a flight of steps descended from the upper ward to a bridge over the ditch. These steps were to be seen in Mr. Kerrich's time.

Within the ward was a strong tower, not, I think, necessarily of the same date as the keep. Mr. Kerrich shows the south and east walls of it in his plans, and Mr. Harrod laid bare the other two, which were of great thickness on account of their nearness to the earthen bank; the whole measured 50 ft. by 40 ft.

In the middle of the outer ward both Mr. Kerrich and Mr. Harrod indicate considerable foundations, of which the outline is perceptible at the present day. No doubt some digging would reveal the plans of a great hall, chapel and kitchen, perhaps of a later date than the keep, in accordance with the not unusual later Norman practice of abandoning the shell keep on the mound as a dwelling place for better lodgings lower down.¹

A small portion of the wall at the lower end of the outer ward is quite complete, and near it is a low postern, that has had on the inner side a lintol of wood—showing the scarcity of stone of any length, which has left the impress of its ends in the lasting concrete. Mr. Kerrich also mentions a gateway at the lower end of the town, in connection with the wall crossing the ditch at the south-west corner, before alluded to. Mr. Bloom, in his *Notices of Castle Acre*, says it was precisely like the upper gateway in the street, and that the remains of it were only removed in this century. Both would therefore be Early English, and, as they are placed upon the north and south lines of the Roman camp, they would have been in connection with Norman or Early English defences along those lines, and they further show that the later men were also disposed to fortify, or at least make use of, the whole of the earliest works, as I have supposed the Saxons

¹ In some slight excavations which Mr. Hope has been kind enough to superin-

tend, the later Norman work was at once found.

did. The details of the upper gateway show a re-use of late Norman work.

There has been difference of opinion as to the date of the earliest earthworks at Castle Acre. Mr. Harrod, of whose labours here, and anywhere else in Norfolk, I should wish to speak with the greatest respect, was of opinion that the circular and horse-shoe works were pre-Roman. Many were carried away with this idea who have since abandoned it, and the change is creditable—and I suppose inevitable—for archæology of this kind has made great strides in the last thirty years. The story at Mileham, a few miles off, is just the same; there we have the Roman, the Saxon, and the Norman works quite as distinct as here, and each perhaps individually coeval with that at Castle Acre. Many other precisely similar instances could be adduced.

The written history of the castle is very slight—we know, indeed, the descent of the lordship—but we fortunately still have in mound and masonry these great witnesses of a long life, not silent, but more eloquent than the written record. But slight as the written history is, it is something to know that the great Edward was more than once at Castle Acre, and I am willing to believe that he lodged here, and not at the Priory, in February 1297. At any rate he would have visited the castle—at that time in its prime, and with its Norman defences just then getting a little obsolete; and, no doubt, he came under the gateway that has fallen, and mounted the now vanished steps into the keep which has nearly perished. And, perchance, it was on this very spot, where we are now standing, that he made answer to the deputation from the clergy in the parliament at Bury, who had refused a subsidy to the king:—"From the moment that you cease to bind yourselves by the homage and on the pledge to me for your baronies, I hold myself to be bound in no respect to you." This was bold speech, but I think the king had to give way. Fifty years later the castle was in ruins.

ANTONINE'S ITINERARY. ROUTE IX., BRITAIN.¹

By the Rev. Canon RAVEN, D.D.

At the Colchester Meeting of the Institute in 1876 I had the honour of reading a paper on Roman roads in the east of England, in which something was said on the subject treated of on this occasion. The views then enunciated have been modified on some points and confirmed on others by further information and examination. It is not without hesitation that the present remarks are made. They will be found mainly directed towards the first stage on the route, to which I have been able to give some personal attention.

A few words may be said on the document with which we have to deal.

The detail of the work which has come down to us by the name of Antonine's Itinerary of necessity ranges over a great extent of time. From the record of the Appian Way to the mention of Diocletianopolis the mind has to traverse some six centuries, and the mileage of the former as well as of other early roads is probably earlier than their titles, for the words of Livy about the Appian Way ("viam munivit." Liv. ix, 29,) leave it quite open to conjecture whether Appius Claudius Cæcus laid out the great road which goes by his name, or merely threw up an agger on that which had long existed as a level road. A compilation embedding in itself the result of earlier work it must of course be; and the question is to whom it owes its name. There are three Emperors who bore the name of Antoninus, to any one of whom the publication of the Itinerary may be ascribed. The claims of

¹ Read in the Antiquarian Section at the Annual Meeting of the Institute, at Norwich, August 7th, 1889.

others of the name are but slender. These three are Titus Antoninus Pius, Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, and the elder son of Severus, commonly called Caracalla, but never known formally by that name, his designation on coins being also Marcus Aurelius Antoninus. The name of the first is little connected with road-making, but Julius Capitolinus in his life of the great philosophic Emperor records his care for the roads of the Itinera ("Vias etiam urbis atque itinerum diligentissime curavit," cxi.),¹ and this is very strong evidence, if the text be trustworthy. To support Caracalla's claim, there is an inscription recorded by Maffei, to the effect that Severus and Caracalla ordered the restoration of "milliaria vetustate conlabsa." The honours thus divide themselves between the philosopher and the fratricide. The Itinerary further contains traces of the days of Diocletian, but nothing later than those of Constantine the Great.

An element of uncertainty is thus introduced by the very title of the book, which does not leave us when we come to the examination of the special route, which is our subject this evening.

The text, after a most exhaustive recension of MSS., by the latest editors stands thus:—"Item a Venta Icenorum Londinio.

	mpm.	CXXVIII.	<i>Sic.</i>
Sitomago	mpm.	XXXII.	
Combretonio	mpm.	XXII.	
Ad Ansam	mpm.	XV.	
Camoloduno	mpm.	VI.	
Canonio	mpm.	VIII.	
Cæsaromago	mpm.	XII.	
Durolito	mpm.	XVI.	
Londinio	mpm.	XV."	

The sum of these distances is a mile short of the total. It will be unnecessary for me, in the presence of so many members of the Norfolk and Norwich Archæological Society, to reiterate the arguments by which the identity of Norwich with Venta Icenorum has been established. I have been for years a convert to them. The extremities being thus fixed, let us first take the half-way house, Camolodunum, better known under the form Camūlodu-

¹ Parthey and Pinder question the correctness of the text.

num, the *Καμουλόδουνον* of Dion Cassius.¹ Now we have as a guide to this part of our road the fifth route in the Itinerary; the obscurities in which are comparatively trivial till we get past Essex. In that route from London to Luguvalium ad vallum, on the Roman wall near Carlisle, via Colchester and Lincoln, we have the following mileage:—

A Londinio Cæsaromago mpm. XXVIII.
Colonia mpm. XXIV.

I quite assent to the identification of Cæsaromagus with Billericay, but would draw attention to the difference of mileage in the two routes, twenty-eight miles in the fifth route to thirty-one in the ninth. Now, in the latter there is an intermediate station, Durolitum, which according to Reynolds and Mannert is Romford. I follow them from etymology and mileage; and suggest that a shorter road was made by cutting through the scrub and forest further east. If this be the true solution of the discrepancy, then the ninth route is older than the fifth. This, I think, is confirmed by Camolodunum appearing in the ninth route, but Colonia in the fifth. That the two places are not identical is shown by the fact that the ninth route gives twenty-four miles between Cæsaromagus and Colonia, whereas the fifth gives twenty-one between Cæsaromagus and Camulodunum; and the fifth, which as yet we have found the longer road, has an intermediate station, Canonium, which would be unlikely to shorten the distance. Thus we are taken by the mileage to Prebendary Scarth's conclusion that Lexden, not Colchester, is the Camulodunum of Tacitus, Dion Cassius, and the ninth route in Antonine's Itinerary, the city of Cunobellinus and Boadicea.

Standing now at Lexden we have to deal with the distance from that place to Norwich, seventy-five Roman miles in the Itinerary, but under fifty as the crow flies. How is this to be accounted for? It seems certain that there must have been a great deflection either to the east or to the west. First of all the Stour had to be crossed, no doubt near the station *ad Ansam*, presumably the lowest point where the river would be usually fordable, still

¹ ὁ Πλαύτιος—τὸ Καμουλόδουνον τὸ τοῦ Κυνοβελλίνου βασίλειον εἶλεν. Dion Cassius, LX. 21.

known by the suggestive name of Stratford S. Mary. The name seems to have arisen from the gathering up as in a clamp the various tracks which came together at the ford. Once across the river we must use our judgment for the east or for the west. The next station is *Combretonium*. If we adopt the eastward course this will be Burgh near Woodbridge, if the westward it will be Brettenham, about half-way between Lavenham and Stowmarket. I regret that I have been unable to visit either place, but I am informed that both possess earthworks. The syllable Bret has, of course, proved attractive, but it ought not to weigh against the entire absence of roads of any note radiating from Brettenham in any direction. In the Peutinger Tabula *Convetni* which no doubt represents *Combretonium* is close to the coast. Written against it is xv. the Antonine mileage between it and *ad Ansam*.

Suckling's remark that the adoption of the eastward course would charge the Romans with having left the heart of the county of Suffolk unprotected may be disposed of by the fact that the fifth route traversed that very district. Camden's preference for the westward course has no other basis but the supposed identity of "Sit" in *Sitomagus*, with "Thet" in Thetford. He speaks of the river Sit or Thet, but there is no proof of other existence of the first name.

The balance of evidence seems to me to incline eastward, and such remarks as I have to make from local knowledge are based on that theory. Assuming this, let us look to the first stage. And first of all its length (32 miles) is remarkable, being rarely surpassed. We have 35 mile stages twice in the very obscure Iter v., and one 36 mile stage on Iter xv. between *Durnonovaria* and *Muridunum*, on the road from Silchester to Exeter, and these are the only British instances in excess of the stage between *Venta Icinarum* and *Sitomagus*. And as it was undoubtedly long, so it was presumably difficult. Three rivers, the Tase, the Waveney, and the Blyth, had to be forded. On the inland side lay, for the greater part of the way, an ancient and deep forest, which also extended occasionally beyond the road on the sea side. The lighter lands on the sea side were covered with thickets and scrub, and

excellent shelter was afforded to marauders, whether sea-rovers or salvagers. The character of the soil was hostile to traffic for a great part of the year, and so far as the record of Antonine's Itinerary goes, the road was no thoroughfare. I am not denying the existence of other roads out of Norwich at the time; none of them, however, were thought worthy of a place in the Itinerary. If the centurion, M. Favonius, whose monument remains at Colchester, ever made the journey, he would have had occasion to contrast the stage with others to its disadvantage.

We pass out of Norwich by Ber Street and Bracondale, and cross the Tase by Trowse Station.

Here the name of the place must stop us. A suggestion has been made to me by the Rev. M. H. Lee, Vicar of Hanmer, that Trowse is a British word, Traws, the crossing, a corruption of the Latin Trajectus. I am told that this is confirmed by the discovery of the old ford, close to Trowse Bridge. By this way we are reminded that King Anna rode forth to the fatal field of Bulcamp, (*bellus campus*), and the Conisford Ward preserved the name till the Reform Bill swept away the beautiful picturesqueness of the old designations, and ticketed the citizens by number, like cattle on the hill. I am inclined to think that the road did not make straight for the ford across the Waveney, but bent to the left to catch the little earth-work at Bergh Apton, and thence by Mundham and Thwaite reached Belsey bridge. The road beyond Thwaite, with Tindal wood on the right, is remarkably good, much better than might be expected in such a district. At Belsey bridge, a small tributary of the Waveney is crossed, and near here in September, 1862, some urns of inferior construction were discovered.

The passage of the Waveney was the most critical point in the road, and at no place are the conditions more favourable than at Wainford. The extent of marsh is here reduced by the presence of a two-fold patch of higher ground called Pirnough-street. Below Wainford the Waveney is not fordable. On Friday last I examined the way between Ditchingham station and the church of Ilketshall S. John's. The turns in the road at first are quite accounted for by the advantage of keeping on these

patches of gravel in the marsh. The second of the two patches ends a little more than 100 yards before the first of the two present bridges; but everything here has been cut about for milling and malting. The old road ran to the east of the malthouses, and here in 1856 were found Roman coins.¹ Very likely if the mill were ever to be pulled down we might have a second edition of the Bassingbourne discovery. The gravel on the south side of the river is about five feet from the surface, so that the little bit of marsh could not have been very formidable. I have little doubt that the present little-used road which continues the route straight away indicates Iter ix. It is a water-course road, and probably the Roman road lay just to the east of it, detail being thus arranged for carrying off the water. On the top of the ridge there is a well-defined double elbow, the middle about fifty yards long, quite level, and at right angles to the general course of the road. This way is described as the Packway, between Wangford Cross and Wangford Green. No better arrangement could be made for a good rest before descending what must have been a bad hill. Wangford Green, between Mettingham Castle and the slope of the hill, was all open common till the enclosure of 1817. No trace therefore can be found here, save that land between Mettingham Castle and Wainford bridge is described as "abutting on a certain street called Wangford street." I think, however, that at the north-west corner of the Mettingham Castle property the Roman road appears again, and goes away for Ilketshall S. John's church, with another double elbow before the dip for the little stream which has there to be crossed. There are some suspicious looking pieces of brick in the outer wall of this church. Here the road assumes its most important aspect, and begins to bear the high title of Stone Street.

The church and churchyard of Ilketshall S. Laurence, on the left of the road, stand on an artificially raised platform. At S. Laurence's Green the road is crossed by another, leading to Rumburgh, to the west, which westward road is called S. Margaret's Street; and eastwardly, avoiding all brooks in a truly British fashion, coming out

¹ *Ex. inform.* Rob. Mann, de Wainford.

on the piece of "Corduroy Road," described by Mr. Edwards in his pamphlet, dealing with the question whether the Waveney ever reached the sea at Lowestoft. The name of Stone Street belongs to the road, even after passing the Triple Plea, when it turns towards the right for Halesworth. The farm called Harley Archer's lies on the left after this turn. Part of it is described in the title deeds as abutting "upon the Queen's Highway, and turnpike road leading from Halesworth aforesaid to Bungay, formerly called Stone Street, or the broadway, towards the south." Broadway farm is on the right of the road. On the other side, the road turns eastward for Holton, but the name of Stone Street no longer belongs to it; a piece of copyhold land hard by being described in the Court Books of the manor of Dame Margaries in Halesworth, as situate in Holton, and "abutting upon the common way, leading from Holton towards Stone Street."

This, however, may have been part of Iter ix, leading down to Holton, and so by the present road, nearly parallel to the river Blyth to Blythford, when the circumstances of crossing are most favourable. I am convinced that I thought too well of Blythburgh.

For the rest of the way there would be an easy course over the heaths to Dunwich.

It appears to me that great efforts were made to deal effectively with the worst parts of the road.

Sticking in the mud time after time between Holton and Ilketshall S. John's and attacked by parties of plunderers when in these straits, the great necessity was to get clear of this middle section of the stage. Hence not only was this grand Stone Street laid down but little redoubts were thrown up at some distance from the route, not as summer camps, but rather to be occupied occasionally when some baggage train was to pass to or from Norwich. Such was Rumburgh, a highly suggestive name. There seem to have been earthworks here, but I am not bold enough to discriminate between them and the foundations of the house of the Augustinian Canons, for the dissolution whereof Cardinal Wolsey procured a bull from Pope Clement VII. Such was the little square rampart round that venerable building known as the Old Minster, while

Alburgh, the great mounds at Bungay and others of British origin may have been turned to useful account.

I have already exceeded the limits of a paper, and will leave untouched for the present the chain of posts connecting this great road with the sea, and the detail by Kelsale, Stratford S. Andrew and Wickham Market to Combretonium, or according to the theory here adopted, Burgh near Woodbridge, and thence Londonwards.

THE MONASTIC INSTITUTIONS OF COVENTRY.¹

By W. G. FRETTON, F.S.A.

It is impossible to review the evidences which yet remain in the ancient city of Coventry of its ecclesiastical wealth and importance in the middle ages, without being convinced that it held no mean position compared with other cities of England in regard to its religious houses. We first meet with notice of it as possessing a nunnery of the Benedictine order said to have been founded by St. Osburg, and being under her especial charge. Of this convent we have not the slightest relic, and no particulars save the record of its destruction in the raid of Canute and Edric in 1016, nor is the actual site positively known. For nearly thirty years the place lay desolate, and then a new monastery was founded in 1043, under the auspices of Leofric, and his Countess Godiva. He was a nobleman high in the councils and personal esteem of Edward the Confessor. Dugdale says that it occupied the place of the former house, and if so, the destroyed habitation of the Nuns was on the south bank of the Sherbourne, where the remains of the institution which succeeded it are still to be met with.

Under the fostering care of the Earl and Countess, and by their unbounded liberality, the new monastery rapidly gained reputation and wealth. Godiva spared not even her own personal adornments, but generously offered both gold and jewels at the shrine of St. Mary and St. Osburg. Here the noble pair were eventually buried, and even at the Conquest the possessions of the abbey were held

¹ Read in the Historical Section, at the Annual Meeting of the Institute, at Leamington, August 10th, 1888.

sacred, and confirmed to them under the hand and seal of the Conqueror. Only three abbots held rule here, for on the death of Leofwinus, Robert de Limesey, bishop of the diocese, asked and obtained the custody of the abbey from the king, and in 1102 removed the see from St. John's, Chester, to Coventry; the title of abbot being thus absorbed in the higher dignity of bishop, became extinct, and the government of the monastery was then vested in the prior.

Limesey soon showed himself in his true colours, it was not the welfare of the priory he sought to promote, but the gratification of his own avarice. He read the injunction of our Lord to Peter, "Feed my sheep," in the reverse way, for instead of so doing, he fleeced them, by robbing the shrines of their gold and jewels, starving the monks, and reducing them and their house to poverty; they must have felt some satisfaction in burying him in his Cathedral in 1117, tinged with some pardonable regret that they had not been required to perform the rite a few years earlier.

During the wars of Stephen, Coventry suffered severely. The castle, which belonged, together with the greater part of the city, to the Earl of Chester, was besieged by Robert Marmion, of Tamworth, on behalf of the king. This nobleman turned out the monks and converted the priory into a fortress, from which to attack the castle, but he came to a tragical end himself, for having had some deep trenches constructed to defend his position, and forgetting their whereabouts he fell into one of them, and was dispatched by one of the Earl's soldiers. This was regarded by the monks as a judgment upon him. On the conclusion of peace, a few years afterwards, the monks were reinstated, and matters were in a fair way for improvement with them, when fresh troubles arose in the form of disputes with the then bishop, Hugh Novant, who appears to have been the first to style himself Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, his six predecessors having signed as Bishops of Coventry only.

Between Novant and the monks, the discussion waxed warm, and on one occasion it came to blows, for the monks rushing on the bishop, broke his head with one of the crosses belonging to the church, a powerful argument it is true, but one which recoiled upon themselves, for the bishop laid a complaint against them before the Chancellor, and

the monks were expelled, secular canons being placed in their room. This state continued till 1198, when owing to repeated representations made to several successive Popes by Thomas (one of the dispossessed monks) the Benedictines were re-instated, and were enabled by liberal assistance afforded them, to put their house in order again.

During the wars of the Barons, the monks of Coventry suffered severely from both parties before and during the siege of Kenilworth. Friend and foe served them alike, the only compensation made to them at the time being the issue of letters from the King (Hen. III.) to the monks' tenants, recommending *them* to afford what relief *they* could to their landlords, promising them *recompense from God* and *thanks* from him: he was so impoverished himself it was all he had to give. In the course of the next sixty years the original cathedral church in which the Bishops of Coventry had been enthroned, and most of them buried, gave way to the magnificent priory church of which the remains of the west end are the most important portions left. As their wealth increased, the monks extended their buildings until nearly the whole of the area between the two churchyards and the river was occupied by the courts and offices of the monastery, and we can even now trace considerable fragments of the Priory buildings scattered over the site, and incorporated with modern erections.

But the time arrived when the long association of the Benedictines with Hill Close was finally severed, and the home which they had extended and beautified during a period of five centuries became to them a habitation no longer, when in spite of the intercession of Bishop Lee, who pleaded hard for the preservation of what he described as his principal cathedral church, the decree of the monarch went forth for its destruction, and we seek in vain the long drawn aisles, the stately towers, the cloistered areas, and the noble halls where parliaments had been held, princes entertained, including this same Henry VIII. himself, who so ruthlessly caused its destruction and spoliation. The greater part of the monastic buildings has been removed or buried beneath the accumulations of three centuries. Thomas Camswell was the last of the priors, and the gross income at the suppression amounted

to £731 19s. 5d. from which certain payments had to be made reducing the net sum to about £500 per annum, a very large sum in those days.

The Hospital of St John the Baptist was founded by Prior Laurence, in the reign of Henry II, at the suggestion of the then Archdeacon of Coventry, and was established to meet a want, which the necessities of the unsettled times had created. There was at that period no organized provision for the sick and infirm, the poor, or the stranger, and this institution was designed to supply this want; and though managed by a separate staff of officials known as the master, brethren and sisters, was always more or less subordinate to the prior and convent. It had all the principal features of a religious house, a chapel, (now much curtailed, and for the last three centuries used as a Grammar School), refectory, dormitories, infirmary, and other offices. The community wore a special dress, were subjected to strict regulation, managed their own financial affairs, and derived their income from distinct sources, assisted by contributions in provisions, &c., from the priory. At the dissolution, the net income was £67 a year; it shared the fate of the other religious houses, excepting utter destruction. The chapel, diminished in size by the setting back of the west front, and the removal of its south aisle, still remains. It was converted into a school by John Hales, 1545, who came into possession of it by purchase, at the time of the general wreck, and on the removal of the scholars to new premises on the south-side of the city in 1885, ceased to be used as such.

There was some fear at the time of the removal of the school, that this venerable structure would be either demolished, or appropriated to some entirely secular purpose; but fortunately it has been secured by the vicar and churchwardens of Trinity, having been purchased by subscription, and is now used as a mission hall for weekly and occasional services, a meeting room for young men's institutions, and other useful parochial purposes, a much preferable fate to being converted into either an auction room or theatre, or to entire removal; to one of these, it seemed at one time, this venerable relic was doomed.

The Hospital for Lepers was founded by Hugh Kevelioke in the time of Hen. II. This Earl of Chester had a Knight in his household who had contracted this loathsome disease in one of the crusades, and it was out of affection for him that the Earl founded this Lazar House. It was first dedicated to St. Leonard but was afterwards known as St. Mary Magdalene, both names being frequently found associated with hospitals established for lepers. It was situated at the west end of Coventry in what is now known as Chapel Fields, at the angle formed by a lane leading from the old Holyhead road to Hearsall common. Of the structure nothing now remains; the last remnant, a portion of the chapel, used as a barn, having been removed about 1847. On ceasing to be used as a Lazar house it came into the possession of Basingwerk Abbey, Flintshire, but was afterwards appropriated by the monks of Coventry; it then reverted to the Crown. Edward IV. gave it to the monks of Studley as a free chapel and it was from this circumstance that the district is called Chapel Fields.

The Franciscans or Grey Friars settled in Coventry about the year 1230 under the patronage of Ranulf Earl of Chester, who gave them a piece of land on his manor of Cheylesmore on which they built their church and monastery. They were liberally supported by families in the neighbourhood. Among these were the Hastings of Allesley and Fillongley Castles, one of the chantries attached being that of St. Nicholas or the Hastings Chapel. The monastery was in close proximity to the Manor House of Cheylesmore, and the fraternity enjoyed certain privileges in connection therewith. Stone was freely granted them from the park wherewith to supersede their shingled dwelling with a more permanent structure, and access granted to the park itself for the benefit of their members. Riches rolled in as the brotherhood increased in popularity, and even Isabella the infamous Queen of Edward II. was among the list of its patrons. The Friars were great promoters of the miracle or sacred plays, which drew large concourses of people to Coventry to witness these pageants. They were energetic emissaries of the Pope, and in consequence enjoyed considerable privileges. They were subject to

no diocesan control and were very busy agents in bringing heretics to the fiery ordeal in the old quarry in the park close to the Little Park Gate. But as their influence waned, so did their income diminish, and at the dissolution of monasteries a sad record is given of the decay of this house, its dilapidated condition, and its reduced circumstances, much the same state of things being the case with the manor house adjoining, for the Commissioners in referring to them in 1534 say, "The hole howse besides the churchys in moch ruynes," and they add "adjoynyng unto the fryery ys an olde manor called Chyldsmore . . . The hall ys down." The only fragment of this friary remaining above ground is the steeple, to which, after standing alone for nearly three centuries a new church (Christ church) was attached in 1832. This is the first of the three tall spires we see on entering Coventry from the railway station.



REMAINS OF WHITEFRIARS MONASTERY, COVENTRY.
(From Reader's History of Coventry, 1810.)

Another order of Friars afterwards obtained a position in the city, the Carmelites or White Friars who, by means of the liberality of Sir John Poultney, (four times Lord Mayor of London), built a house at the east end of Coventry in 1342. This, by means of generous contributions of the wealthy, was by degrees so enlarged and beautified that it maintained a high place among the religious houses in that city where it enjoyed so great a reputation for sanctity, that numbers of rich citizens selected it as a place of sepulchre; and, no doubt, the

friars, like their brethren the Franciscans, reaped no small benefit from the concession. Their church was not built on their own ground, but on land adjoining, for which they paid an annual rent of 2s. At the dissolution the net revenue of this house was only £7 13s. 8d. per annum. The friars were discharged without pension, and the property came by purchase eventually into the hands of John Hales, who, in the disused church, first opened his school. Misunderstandings arising between him and some leading citizens, who, raising a plea that there was a want of church accommodation in this part of the city, obtained a grant of the church from the crown; and then discovering that there was no further need for additional churches, pulled it down and sold the materials, Mr. Hales having removed his school to the Hospital of St. John, and converted the Friary into a residence. In doing this, many alterations were made, and after passing through subsequent changes of proprietorship, the house ultimately came into the possession of the guardians of the poor, who incorporated it with their house of industry, and thereby preserved it from any further demolition. The chief portions now remaining, are the eastern avenue of the cloister, with two vaulted chambers adjoining, a portion of the Chapter House, with dormitory above, the entrance to the prior's lodgings, the cloister gateway, and the outer gate of the precincts, in Much Park street. Queen Elizabeth was a guest here. During her reign, a private printing press was surreptitiously placed here, from which some of the celebrated Marprelate tracts were issued; and in 1642, it was severely injured in the siege, when the city was attacked by Charles 1st. It may be here remarked that the introduction of the Friars into England was not by any means graciously received by the orders of regular monks, for on the advent of the Franciscans we find the Benedictines lamenting after this fashion—"Oh shame! oh worse than shame! oh barbarous pestilence, the minor brethren are come into England!"

We meet with our next example of religious foundations in Coventry, at the west end of the City, just within the Walls, and here it may be noted that of all the nine foundations which possess in a greater or less degree the character of religious houses here, seven of them are

within the fortifications, and it is partly owing to the influence of the older fraternities, and the conditions of grant of stone, &c., by Edward the Black Prince, that his manor house, together with the priory, the hospital, and the two friaries were brought within the line of wall, which owing partly to this fact, is so irregular in its circuit. The Collegiate church of St. John Baptist adjoined the Spon gate, and originated with a grant of land of very limited extent, made by Isabel, to found a chapel at "Babbelak," in which masses were to be solemnized for the repose of the soul of her dear lord Edward, late King of England, among others, hoping thereby, no doubt, to justify herself to the world, and satisfy her own conscience for the share she had had in causing him the bitter miseries which terminated at Berkeley. The chapel was built by the brethren of St. John's Guild, and to it was attached a hermitage (though we learn of only one occupant), the work was largely promoted by William Walshman, formerly valet to Queen Isabel, and both area and buildings much increased by his munificent aid, and the Black Prince's additional grant of land. Suitable buildings for the purpose of a Collegiate establishment were raised, and a Warden and Priests installed : the necessary provision of means being supplied by the united Guilds. The offices were ranged along the sides of an irregular court, the church forming the south side, the great gate on the east, the dirge hall, warden's and priest's chambers on the north and west, the school forming an extension along the west side of Hill street. There can be but little doubt that the present dining hall and dormitory of the Ballake Boys' Hospital formed this northern wing of the College.

At the dissolution the college became by purchase the property of the Corporation, and the Hall and adjacent buildings were converted into a Bridewell, which was removed about fifty years ago. The church after many vicissitudes, and adaptations as a lecture hall, temporary prison, &c., was converted into a parish church in 1734, a rectory attached to the free grammar school, a union dissolved some years ago. The whole fabric has been restored, and internal and external accumulations removed, the process revealing some singular peculiarities, in fact the whole church is a study. In ground plan a parallelogram,

in the clerestory stage cruciform, with tower in centre, no right angles, eastern and western piers of the tower totally different, and the north and south clerestory unlike. The south aisle of the nave is called Walshman's aisle.

On the south-east of the city, within walls of its own, stands all that remains of the Carthusian Monastery of St. Ann, or Charter House: a few fragmentary portions are incorporated in the modern dwelling house. It was founded on a parcel of land of fourteen acres known as St. Ann's Grove by William Lord Zouch of Harringworth, Northamptonshire, in 1381. He did not, however, live to see his purpose carried into effect, but left £60 per annum towards its future maintenance. The design did not lack support; the Botoners, a family to whom St. Michael's Church was so largely indebted, the Luffs, and other citizens of wealth, contributed liberally to the erection of the church, chapter house, cloister, and cells. Local efforts were largely supplemented in 1385 by Richard II. on his return from Scotland, who further endowed it with possessions which had belonged to the alien monasteries, and himself laid the foundation stone of the church, being regarded as principal founder of the monastery. Among its possessions were the advowson of the parish church of Sheffield, the priory of Ecclesfield, &c. At the dissolution its income amounted to £131 6s 8d. above all reprises. John Bockard was the last of the priors, and having made an easy surrender was, together with the assenting eight monks, liberally pensioned, he himself receiving £40 a year.

Two other foundations of a pre-reformation origin remain to be noticed, which, though charitable institutions, partook of a semi-religious character and which still exist. The oldest of these is the hospital for old men founded in 1506 by Thomas Bond, an ex-mayor of the city, for "ten poor men as long as the world shall endure and a woman to look to them," as the brass in St. Michael's church quaintly expresses it. The recipients were to be chosen as far as possible from decayed members of the Trinity Guild, to wear a monastic dress, and daily after they had supped to go into the church hard by and say fifteen paternosters, fifteen aves, and three creeds, and a devout secular priest was to be appointed to attend upon them,

to preach and give spiritual consolation, and to pray for the souls of the founder and others. At the dissolution this foundation had a narrow escape of being confiscated, but the Corporation intervened, and the charitable intentions of the founder were maintained, although a further attempt was made by the son to set aside the will, which was frustrated by a decree in Chancery. The double cloistered fabric of half timber work still remains, and occupies the northern side of the enclosure of which St. John's Church forms the southern.

The other Institutions to which I have referred, is Ford's Hospital for aged women, and was founded in 1529 on the east side of Grey Friars-lane. The building is a perfect gem of timber frame work, and was evidently constructed for the purpose it still serves. Wm. Ford was a merchant, he was Mayor in 1496, and his executor, William Pisford, also an ex-Mayor, nobly seconded his efforts by adding to the endowment, and to the building. At first aged men and old married couples partook of the charity, but this was subsequently altered, and aged women are now the only recipients. Like Bond's Hospital, Ford's Almshouse had a narrow escape at the dissolution, on the pretence, that as a priest was provided to perform the service of the mass in the little chapel over the gateway, it was an institution "given to superstitious uses," a plea which was fortunately over-ruled. Owing to the depreciation in the value of the property of both these charities, the number of inmates and recipients has been much decreased of late years, but they still exist as evidences of the large hearted benevolence which characterized the good old merchant princes of Coventry, who out of their wealth, did not forget the claims for consideration of the wants of their poorer fellow citizens. Let us hope that it will be very long ere the influence of the "dead hand" will fail to assert its power, and that the pious intentions of these generous founders will continue to be held sacred for the benefit of future generations. We have in Coventry a recent proof that the spirit of this best of all gifts—of charity—is not dead amongst us, for a noble benefactor recently deceased has bequeathed, in addition to many "other good gifts," a sum exceeding £100,000 to found an asylum for aged women, and the name of David

Spencer may thus be added to those of Bond, Ford, Wheatly, Haddon, White, Hales, Bayley, Fairfax, Baker, Billing, Crow, and a long roll of other generous names whom the citizens of Coventry have good cause to remember with thankfulness and gratitude.

I have thus briefly treated in some order of time, of the monastic institutions of this ancient city, which originated and flourished previous to the reformation, and which exhibited, more or less, the character of religious houses; to attempt to give anything like a detailed history and description of either of them would entail a much longer chapter, than the epitome of the nine, which I have the honour to lay before my hearers; but I shall have said enough to convince them that Coventry held a high rank in the mediæval period, as a city rich indeed in monastic fraternities, and in the glorious houses they erected and adorned.

THE GREAT SPHINX: IDEAS OF THE SPHINX IN THE ANCIENT WORLD.¹

By HELEN MARY TIRARD.

Every now and then our interest is renewed in one of the oldest monuments of the world, by a sort of ceremony of unveiling. However long the Great Sphinx of Egypt may have crouched on the edge of the Libyan desert, with the exception of his head, he has certainly spent most of his time covered up with the sand, which, according to Arab tradition, he is supposed to keep back from encroaching upon the fertile land in front of him. We read of this sand being cleared away as early as 1500 B.C. Again, in modern times Lepsius and the Duc de Luynes accomplished the same work; and in 1869 Mariette cleared it out in honour of the opening of the Suez Canal, and yet again, three years ago, the sphinx was covered as thickly as hundreds of years before. In 1886 the excavators again set to work, and the great sphinx was unveiled to the world, and for a time, at least, we are able to see the whole of the huge lion body crouching far below the gigantic human head, which rises high above the level of the surrounding table land. How long we may have this advantage is very doubtful. Thothmes IV, when he cleared away the sand about 1500 B.C., built a crude brick wall to keep it back, and there is some talk of restoring this old wall, unless something of the kind is soon undertaken the greater part of the sphinx will be speedily again hidden. That at the present moment he *can* be seen will, I hope, be a sufficient excuse for my asking you to give a few minutes to the consideration of such a very well-known object of antiquity.

¹ Read at the Monthly Meeting of the Institute, November 7, 1889.

The form of the great sphinx is that of the man-headed lion; it is carved out of the limestone rock, the natural form of which probably gave the artists the first idea of their design.

The head, which rises 40 ft. above the surrounding plateau, is carved with much more care than the rest of the figure; the forehead is wide, the eyes remarkably deep set, the cheeks round, the lips very full. As a whole the face gives the characteristics of the old Egyptian face, features which are repeated in the Copts of to-day, and it therefore may be regarded as a portrait, not of any individual, but of the race itself. The face was bearded, the beard being plaited broad and square, and slightly turned up at the end, representing the false beard of the ancient Egyptians, which was fastened by a strap round the face. Good examples of this form of beard may be seen in pictures and statues of gods and kings of ancient Egypt. The head is encircled by a headdress made of folded linen, striped with red or blue lines; it covers the whole of the head and upper part of the forehead; the broad folds stand out behind the ears, and fall in two lappets in front over the sides of the chest. This headdress is called the *klaft*, a word signifying in the Coptic a monk's cowl; it was formerly reserved for royalty, and may be seen on many sculptures of sphinxes and kings of ancient Egypt, a good example being the diorite statue of King Khafra of the fourth dynasty. Centuries later it was used as an artistic drapery for the head by Greek workers in Alexandria, as we see by some of the bronzes of that period. At the present day the Coptic priest puts a striped handkerchief over his head, much like the *klaft* of the great sphinx, at the celebration of the Holy Communion, as part of his ritual dress. Above the *klaft*, the head of the great sphinx is surmounted by the hooded snake or uraeus, which rears its upraised head from the forehead; the origin of this symbol is most obscure, but from the earliest times it seems to have been the emblem of royalty, both human and divine. Pieces of the uraeus and the beard were found broken off, and were brought to England early in this century, and are now in glass cases in the British Museum. The body of the sphinx, in the form of a crouching lion, lies 100 ft. below in a huge

artificial amphitheatre hollowed out in the limestone plateau. It is 140 ft. long, and, like the head, is formed of the rock itself, but supplemented here and there with masonry to complete the shape ; it was formerly plastered all over with smoothed limestone, and coloured ; this has almost disappeared ; but we read of traces having been seen by Greaves in 1736. The colour used was chiefly a dull red, the same red as the Egyptians used to depict themselves as distinguished from the lighter coloured Libyans or the darker Ethiopians. Some of this colour is still to be seen, not only on the face and body, but also on the broken pieces in the British Museum. In order to reach the front paws, a sloping descent leads to a flight of steps, 40 ft. wide, described by Pliny, and uncovered by Caviglia in 1817, but since then entirely lost to sight for seventy years. These steps lead to a platform of the rock, on which some Roman buildings seem to have stood ; from this platform another flight of thirty steps lead down to the level of the paws. The paws are stretched out straight ; they were restored in Roman time, and look very insignificant and poor with their covering of thin slabs. Before them still stands the Roman altar made from a piece of granite, which possibly was taken from the granite temple close by ; this altar probably replaced an earlier one, on which sacrifices and incense may have been offered to the great sphinx for some thousands of years.

A monument in the Louvre informs us that as late as 600 B.C., a priest named Psammetichus offered incense in honour of the pyramid builders, Khufu and Khafva the king gods, and to the great Hormakhu (Hor on the Horizon), the name by which the sphinx was known to the Greeks. Close to this altar were found the little sphinx, the hawk and the lion, which were dedicated to the sphinx in Ptolemaic times, and which are now in the British Museum. From the altar the old processions passed along the sacred paved way, between the paws to the sanctuary at the breast. This was a chamber, 35 ft. long by 10 broad, formed by three stelae 14 ft. high. The two side ones are gone ; they were made of limestone, and two low jambs projected to form a doorway. The third stela is of granite, and still rests against the breast ; it was placed there by the king Thothmes IV, and some

holes in it behind shew that he appropriated a piece of granite from the granite temple to make it. In the bas-relief at the top, the king is represented offering incense and a libation to the sphinx, who like the colossal figure behind has a beard and other divine attributes. Below is an inscription, a full translation of which may be found in Brugsch's history. The following extracts are perhaps the most interesting: We read how Thothmes IV, before he came to the throne, hunted lions in the valley of gazelles, behind the pyramids, riding in a two-horsed chariot, with two attendants. When in the heat of the day he granted rest to his servants, he was wont to advance and present an offering of the seeds of flowers to Hormakhu, and to the great goddesses.

Further on we read, "On one of these days it happened, when the king's son Thothmes had arrived on his journey about the time of midday, and had stretched himself to rest in the shade of this great god, that sleep overtook him. He dreamt in his slumber at the moment when the sun was at the zenith, and it seemed to him as though this great god spoke to him with his own mouth, just as a father speaks to his son, addressing him thus:—"Behold me! look at me, thou, my son Thothmes. I am thy father, Hormakhu, Khepra, Ra, Tum. The kingdom shall be given unto thee, and thou shalt wear the white crown and the red crown on the throne of the earth-god Seb, the youngest (among the gods). The world shall be thine in its length and in its breadth, as far as the light of the eye of the Lord of the Universe shines. Plenty and riches shall be thine; the best from the interior of the land, and rich tributes from all nations; long years shall be granted thee as the term of life. My countenance is gracious towards thee, and my heart clings to thee; I will give thee the best of all things. The sand of the district has covered me up. Promise me that thou wilt do what I wish in my heart, then shall I know whether thou art my son, my helper. Go forward; let me be united to thee." After this Thothmes awoke and he repeated all these speeches, and he understood the meaning of the words of the god and laid them up in his heart, speaking thus with himself: "I see how the dwellers in the temple of the city honour this god with sacrificial

gifts, without thinking of freeing from sand the work of King Khafra, the statue which was made to Tum Hormakhu."

Thus Thothmes IV received, as he said, the command in a dream to clear the sand away from round the sphinx. This he faithfully fulfilled afterwards when he became king, as a thank-offering to the sun-god, who had helped him to ascend the throne of Egypt.

As to the date of the sphinx there have been diversities of opinion, varying not by centuries, but by thousands of years. Miss Edwards, in a recent lecture on portrait sculpture, proposes 10,000 B.C. as a possible date. For myself, I feel that we know so little of the course of events we will say between 4,000 B.C. and 10,000 B.C., that at present it does not much matter what date we fix upon between those limits.

From the conclusion of the inscription on the granite tablet of Thothmes IV, we see that in *his* time the great sphinx was said to be the work of King Khafra, the builder of the second pyramid, according to Brugsch 3666 B.C. This idea may have arisen from the fact, that this colossal work lies in a direct line east of that pyramid, and that close by, is the granite temple, probably built by Khafra, wrongly called the temple of the sphinx. But that this opinion was erroneous, we learn from a limestone stela in the Boulak Museum which was found in the ruins of the temple, close to the southernmost of the three little pyramids near the great pyramid. Though this inscription only dates from the time of the 21st or 25th dynasty, and therefore not earlier than 1000 or 700 B.C., yet there seems no doubt that it was a copy of an older stela. It tells us that before the time of Khafra, king Khufu, the builder of the great pyramid, re-established the offerings in three temples, that of his mother Isis, that of Osiris, and that of the Sphinx. He built his pyramid and a pyramid for the king's daughter, Hontsen, near the temple of the goddess. The stela also gives representations of the gods and goddesses, and state the material of which they were made. Amongst these, the most interesting is that of the great sphinx, whose dwelling place, we are told, is to the south of the temple of Isis, lady of the pyramid, and to the north of the temple

of Osiris, master of the city of the dead. Therefore from this stela, we gather that the great sphinx is anterior to the time of Khufu whom Brugsch places 3733 B.C., and further than that, I feel we cannot as yet go.

An idea has struck me, which I will mention here as a hypothesis, which would reconcile the two important stelae relating to the great sphinx. Is it not possible that the head and the body belong to different eras? A limestone rock rising above the table land may like other rocks, still in Egypt, have borne a resemblance to a great head, and artists in the pre-historic times before the pyramid age, may have carved the splendid face, looking ever to the east. King Khafra, needing limestone for his pyramid, may have hollowed out the great amphitheatre and added the lion's body to the head above. There is a great causeway leading from the second pyramid to the temple of the sphinx close by, up which these great limestone blocks could have been taken to the site of the pyramid. If this were the case, it would give a reason for the legend current in the time of Thothmes IV, nearly two thousand years later, that the great sphinx was the work of King Khafra.

As to later accounts of the great sphinx, we have the ex-votos of the Greek visitors, and also the verses of the historian Arrian, still to be seen on the paws; these graffiti are of late date, and are scarcely legible, being generally faintly scratched; two years ago Prof. Maspero began the difficult task of translating them. Yet, notwithstanding these, we can find no mention of the great sphinx by any author or traveller before Roman time; even Herodotos, who describes the pyramids and mentions the avenue of andro-sphinxes which he saw at Sais, passes him over in silence. Pliny gives a long account of this monument, supposing it to be the tomb of King Amasis of the twenty-sixth dynasty.

The old Arabs, like the modern Bedouins, called him Aboulhol, the father of terror, and spoke of him as a talisman or charm to keep the sand from the cultivated land; they say that the desert has encroached only since he suffered terrible mutilations at the hands of a fanatical sheik in the fourteenth century. Abdel Lateef of Bagh-

dad, the learned Arabian doctor, philosopher, and traveller, who visited Egypt about the beginning of the thirteenth century, gives us his impressions of the great sphinx. He tells us that at a little more than an arrow's shot from the pyramids he saw the colossal figure of a head and neck rising out of the ground. "This figure is called Aboulhol, and it is said that the body to which this figure belongs is buried beneath. On the face is seen a reddish tint, which has all the sparkle of freshness. This face is very beautiful, and the mouth bears the impression of grace and beauty. One might say that it smiles graciously. An intellectual man asked me what I most admired of all I had seen in Egypt, which object had most excited my admiration; I told him the truth of the proportions of the head of the sphinx. In fact, the different parts of the head, for instance, the nose, ears, and eyes, bear the same proportions, which nature observes in her works. Now it is most astonishing that in a work so colossal the sculptor should have been able to preserve the right proportion of all the parts, whilst nature gave him no model of such a colossus, nor anything which could be compared to it."

Since the above was written, the sphinx has suffered much at the hands of man. The Mamluks are even said to have used the face as a target; the nose is gone, the beard has been knocked off, the sides of the headdress have been broken, and yet we feel the old Arab traveller was quite right in the admiration he expressed. Seen in the full light, the scars and injuries catch the eye and disturb the impression; but seen in the dim light or by moonlight, the grand face still gives one the best idea the world has perhaps ever yet produced of sublime steadfastness.

All testimony is unanimous in bearing witness to the fact that the sphinx personified the sun-god; the old Egyptian names *Hu* and *Akar* seem to denote the man-headed lion as a symbol of the sun of the day and of the night; the word *seshep* is found as a title of Rameses, signifying the *sphinx* and the *luminous*. The titles used on the stela of Thothmes IV, Khepra, Ra and Tum, all denote different phases of the sun-god, and the common name by which

he was known in later times, was Hor-ma-khu or Hor-em-khu, signifying Horus or the sun on the Horizon. This was translated by the Greeks as Harmais or Harmachis, the latter being cut upon one of the paws by a Greek called Babillus, the old Egyptian idea was evidently that the sphinx represented Horus the sun-god, the sun of the morning, of mid-day, of the evening, and even of the night. Later, the Greeks, perhaps because his face was turned to the east, thought and spoke of him as the rising sun only, Horus on the horizon, Horus the light of the morning. Mariette follows these later ideas, when he says of the sphinx: "at the entrance of the great plateau, stands the great sphinx, image of Harmachis or the *rising* sun, the eternal guardian of this vast cemetery, personifying in the midst of all these tombs, the idea of the resurrection, the idea of the light which begins again every morning after having conquered the shades of darkness."

The great sphinx is the only isolated sphinx in Egypt. In later times the rule was to represent sphinxes in pairs; and these later sphinxes are not used as representations of the sun-god, to be worshipped and adored with sacrifices, incense and offerings of flowers, but as sacred emblems of the king. Each Pharaoh claimed to be the mortal incarnation of the sun-god, and therefore selected the sphinx as best expressing his personality. The royal sphinxes of Egypt, stamped with the royal cartouches, usurped sometimes over and over again by succeeding monarchs, must be regarded not as portraits of any particular king, but as representing royalty, majesty, and kingly power in the form appropriated to the sun-god; and with the face bearing the impress of the features, belonging to the ruling race. The Hyksos sphinxes can scarcely be excepted, for however much we may regard them as marvellous portraits, yet they show us more the features of a new *race* of kings, the typical characteristics of another nation, than portraits of individual men. The sphinx, as indicative of royalty, became female in Egypt in a few rare instances, and then represented a queen. Queen Notemmut, wife of king Horus of the eighteenth dynasty, queen in her own right, is represented as a sphinx on the left side of the black

granite throne, on which she and her husband are seated in the museum of Turin. She wears a strange head-dress, a group of lotus flowers, emblematic of Upper Egypt, springing from the crown of Lower Egypt; an erect pair of wings spring out of the body, which were probably Asiatic in origin, there being much intercourse at that time between Assyria and Egypt. A little later, Batanta, daughter of Rameses II, is represented as a female sphinx; there are a few others, for instance, a small winged one of Græco-Roman time of grey schist, in the Gizeh Museum.

The sphinx was also used architectually to form entrance avenues to the temples; some thousands of sphinxes in Egypt here find their *raison d'être*. They have almost lost their divine attributes, though they may still be regarded as royal in character, and sometimes bear a small effigy of the king before the breast. In these avenues we find the sphinx, not only as the man-headed lion, as at Wady Saboach, where the beautiful lions still sit in the golden sand of Nubia, but also ram-headed and pure lion as in the wonderful avenues at Karnak. In the British Museum, one of the ram's heads may be seen from the Karnak avenue; it is certainly one of the best pieces of animal sculpture in the world. The hawk-headed sphinx is also found in the decoration of Egyptian temples the hawk being chosen probably as sacred to the sun-god.

The decorative use of the sphinx in Egypt does not appear to have been earlier than the eighteenth dynasty, and this may have been induced by foreign influence but once permitted, it spread rapidly and on scarabs and vases and jewelry we are never surprised to find the sphinx form, sometimes with human arms presenting offerings, sometimes with human, sometimes with lion or hawk head; it is one of the favourite emblems used in necklets and bracelets from the time of the empire downwards to the Greek period in Egypt.

But the sphinx does not belong to Egypt alone. The idea of the sphinx form seems common to the ancient world, and it is impossible to tell where it first arose, whether in Asia or in Africa. Maspero says that he thinks none of the sphinx forms are

the result of calculated combination, but that as Pliny, Diodorus, and Strabo all describe the lion with human head as really existing, so both the Egyptians and Assyrians believed that in the desert these unnatural beings lived beyond the ken of human kind. To the inhabitants of the ancient world the desert represented the unknown, and was often the symbol of the other world; they, therefore, peopled it with beings of an unearthly nature, in whose existence they nevertheless had unbounded faith. In Assyria, though the sphinx is far rarer than in Egypt, yet it would seem to have its natural home, for in their sculpture the Assyrians far more than the Egyptians preferred the animal body united with the human head; the Egyptian gods of composite form with the exception of the sphinx and one or two others are animal-headed.

In Assyria the sphinxes can scarcely be said to represent gods, they have been called the "ministers of the great gods"; as in Egypt they are generally placed in pairs, and are often the guardians of the gate like the human-headed bulls, and must be classified as genii rather than as deities. The earlier sphinxes were male, and were further developed by the addition of wings. Layard found two male winged sphinxes in the southernmost palace at Nimroud, which he thinks were intended to bear the base of a column, they are crouching and instead of the front paws being stretched out like those of the Egyptian sphinx, they are drawn back in the position of an animal ready to rise, instead of in perfect repose. This apparently small difference is characteristic of the sculpture of the two nations, the one excelling in depicting the position of rest, the other that of life and action. The crouching female-winged sphinx is first found in the palace of Esarhaddon, the seventh century before our era; here it appears technically weak as considered from an artistic point of view, though it is decorative, and the head is adorned with a tiara of twisting horns. In sculpture at this time, the erect lion-headed man looking like the fourth incarnation of Vishnu, seems to supersede the crouching man-headed lion; many examples of the former may be seen in the Assyrian basement at the British Museum, and the sphinx form proper was to a great degree relegated to the sphere

of decoration. On cylinders we find the sphinx represented seated or crouching, generally male and bearded; on the inner side of bowls the winged sphinx appears, and also on small works of art such as amulets, the latter shewing unmistakable signs of foreign influence received from the great metal workers of antiquity, the Phœnicians. These great decorators nearly always used the winged form, they possessed the imitative rather than the creative faculty, so that in their work we generally find combinations of Egyptian and Assyrian motives, harmonised together to form decorative patterns, rather than to express religious ideas. In Asia Minor we have many interesting examples of the use of the sphinx, it is more common in relief than in the round, though it seems to have been placed sometimes in the latter form at the entrances to buildings, for one wingless female sphinx lies on the holy way at Miletus. There is a sphinx in relief on an alabaster slab in the Louvre brought from Aradus on the Syrian coast which seems to follow naturally after Layard's Nimroud sphinx, being both Assyrian and Egyptian in design. It is crouching but with its paws tucked in, on the head is the Egyptian double crown worn above a modified Kluft while above the forehead is the uræus. It has curved Assyrian wings, and the ornamentation of the slab, which is both elaborate and effective is Assyrian rather than Egyptian. The sphinxes in relief at Euyuk in Cappadocia are still more extraordinary, the head, breast, and fore-paws emerge from the granite pillars on either side of the doorway, while above, as if borne on their heads is the lintel of the door. Though Egyptian in character this sculpture is totally unlike the Egyptian *sphinx*—it is female, the features are like those of the Egyptian nineteenth dynasty statues, the eyes appear very deep-set, but the cavities were formerly filled in with enamel and crystal, the ear is placed in the right place, instead of being high up on the side of the head in the Egyptian manner, the headdress is very much like the "Kluft" above the face, but the lappets are drawn into volutes on either shoulder, and round the neck is a simple necklet, both headdress and necklet being those commonly worn by Egyptian ladies of the time of Rameses II. The front paws hang down in a

lifeless way, the five toes of even size giving them an unnatural appearance. The whole looks very Egyptian, but has been adapted by an Asiatic artist familiar with Egyptian sculpture.

At Oum-el-Awamid in Syria the sphinx was used in the same way, the hinder parts being left imbedded in the block, while the head and forequarters emerged to guard the temple. Fragments of a throne (now in the Louvre) from the same place are interesting as they shew that the sphinx form was here adopted so as to form part of the sides of the seat probably in the same way as in the throne of a seated figure found at Solento in Sicily. The statue may represent a goddess, and a robed sphinx walks on each side of her throne, the two front legs of the lion appearing out of a narrow skirt.

In Lycia and in Cyprus the sphinxes are very Greek in character. The silver bowls from Curium and Larnaca shew on the inner side winged griffins and sphinxes each holding a man under its claws. This seems to bring us to the Greek myth of the sphinx told us by the old Greek poet Hesiod. This myth may be Phœnician as it belongs to Shebes in Boetia, a Phœnician colony (brought, so some accounts tell us, from Ethiopia to Greece by Hera.) It is curious to relate that an Egyptian crouching sphinx in the round has been found at Thebes. There are several versions of the myth of the sphinx; the daughter of Typhon and Echidna or of Orthros and the Chimaera, she was for ever asking her riddle and devouring all those who could not tell her secret. Oedipus who guessed it received the diadem of Thebes and is represented killing the sphinx with a sword. The myth may give us the origin of the modern appellation sphinx from σφίγγω to throttle. The Greek sphinx was supposed to have the face, perhaps breast, of a woman, the body, feet, and tail of a lion, and the wings of a bird, and from this time onwards the sphinx is, as a rule, female, and only occurs as male in imitative representations of Asiatic and Egyptian motives as e.g., on the walls of Pompeii, or the male sphinx which stands close to the Shoedagong pagoda at Rangoon, which was said to have been begun about the era of Buddha, 600 B.C. Ferguson says he is the last lineal descendant of those

great human-headed winged lions that once adorned the portals of the palaces at Nineveh, but after nearly 3000 years of wandering and ill-treatment, have degenerated into these wretched caricatures of their former selves. The change from male to female was perhaps effected in Asia Minor, where female daemonic forms were common; the siren, the harpy, and the chimaera are all said to have owed their existence to the inventive faculty of this people, who thus tried to bridge over the gulf between gods and men. Etruria shews a close union in her ideas of the sphinx with the types found in Asia Minor. In the Etruscan saloon at the British Museum, is a bronze buckler of Phœnician workmanship, with two sphinxes in the centre of the upper part; the long lion bodies are standing on all four paws, the necks are long and the faces reach up towards the top of an elaborate floral ornament, which stands between the two sphinxes.

At Mycenae, Schliemann found six little gold sphinxes of archaic Greek-work, the sex is not defined, they sit erect, and the head is covered with a three cornered cap, which he calls Phrygian. In the tombs of Spata, of somewhat later date, sphinxes were found carved on bone, all female, with large broad wings, curved back in the Assyrian fashion.

The East was full of symbol, which was inherited by the archaic art of Greece, and the borrowed ideas were crystallised into myths. The Greek myth may be found foreshadowed in Egypt, in a relief found in the graves of Abd-el-Gourneh, at Thebes, where a bearded sphinx is seen with one foot on three men, and the idea of the conquering power of the Sphinx was probably inherited from Egypt, where men believed that it represented the sun's power, which though it might be obscured for a time, nevertheless always remained irresistible and continuous. The Greek story is rich in developments and in Greece we find representations not only of the sphinx conquering, but also of men conquering the sphinx, as in the case of Oedipus.

On the throne of Zeus at Olympia, it is supposed that sphinxes were represented carrying off children, in the same way as the harpies from the harpy tomb from Xanthus. Amongst the representations of the sphinx,

which have a mythical significance, we may perhaps class the few examples found on scarabs, the Cypriot copy of an old Chaldean seal found at Curium (now at New York) representing a Chaldean priest in the attitude of worship with two sphinxes confronting above him, as well as the Greek coins bearing the symbol of the sphinx. The sphinx coins of Chios range from 600 to 250 B.C., the finest being about 400 B.C., on the latter the Greek sphinx is seen seated before an amphora, on the top of which is a bunch of grapes, the sphinx seeming to have been connected with the worship of Dionysos. Another beautiful type of sphinx coins belongs to Cyzicus on the sea of Marmora about 450 B.C. in one of which the sphinx is seen crouching on a fish. Amongst the Alexandrian coins of the time of Domitian is a crouching andro-sphinx, very Egyptian in character, while on the Alexandrian coins of the time of Hadrian, we see ugly queer creatures, and amongst them sphinxes, some walking and some seated. Of the same nature as the sphinxes on coins is the bas-relief on a limestone tablet of about 150 A.D. found at Tanis in the house of Bakakhuu, the lawyer, representing a Graeco-Egyptian sphinx with turreted crown and curved wings, emblematic of the genius of the town. It is published by the Egypt Exploration Fund in Tanis vol i. But in Greek Art the sphinx form is used not only in mythical representations, but also as pure ornamentation, and in connection with the grave. It adorned the helmet of Athena of the Parthenon, its enigmatical and strange character rendered it dear to the heart of the decorator, who combined the types in different ways, and repeated it a countless number of times on jewelry and on vases, until it became a mere technical form of ornamentation with apparently no hidden meaning.

But the sphinx of the tomb is far more interesting than that of pure ornament. In Greece, as in Asia, it was comparatively rare in the round, but there seem to have been sepulchral pillars, with sphinxes resting on them, which Milchhöfer thinks may have been erected on the top of tumuli; these are often represented on the vases found in the tombs. From the earliest mastababs of ancient Egypt down to the later Greek tombs vases were buried with the dead; water in the East is very precious, and in

early time signified the water of life necessary for the soul, and symbolised by these vases. One very fine vase in the British Museum, found at Capua, is borne on the back of a sphinx, between the wings; the face is of a beautiful Greek type, the position, one that appears to have been the favourite with Greeks, erect on the front paws.

On grave reliefs in Cyprus and Lycia the sphinx is frequently found in relief, as in some of the tombs at Golgos, not far from Larnaca, and on the steles, at either end of the sarcophagus found at the same place. They are about the fifth century B.C., and the sphinxes are seated at the top, back to back, while below them is a floral ornament. On the lid of the beautiful marble sarcophagus, which was found broken in many pieces at Amathus on the southern coast, the sphinxes form the corner ornament, and seem to be in the act of advancing to the top of the sarcophagus. The front paws are straight, the wings down, the lower part of the wings being a further development from those of the sphinxes, which preceded them. The same sphinx is found in the Lycian frieze, discovered at Xanthus by Sir C. Fellowes, forming the external decoration of a tomb. Two doorways belonging to the same building as well as the doorways represented in the frieze, have sphinxes on either side of the entrance. They are seated in perfect repose, resting at the gate of the grave, guardians of those sacred sepulchres of antiquity, and the forerunners perhaps of that composite creature we call an angel. Yet beautiful as they are, their power is gone, and like the great sphinx of Gizeh they now watch at the entrance of empty and violated graves. The modern world has exchanged the old reverence for the dead, for a thirst for knowledge, and a desire to lay bare the secrets of the past. Who shall say which is the better?

ON THE FIRST PASSAGE OF THE THAMES BY AULUS PLAUTIUS.¹

By F. C. J. SPURRELL.

In examining the movement of Aulus Plautius with respect to his passage of the River Thames at a particular spot, described by Dion Cassius lx § 19—23, as marked by certain physical features, it is necessary to follow his movements from the beginning of the expedition in order to determine whether he crossed from the North or the South. All previous writers agree and I also that Plautius started his expedition from Boulogne.² It consisted of four legions and a carefully prepared equipage, including some elephants. There was about 50,000 men divided into three parts, which we may call *corps d'armée*.

From the point of departure the Expedition went West;³ now westward from Boulogne is along the south coast of Sussex and Hants. The soldiers did not like this expedition, even before it started, and doubtless they remembered the failure of Caligula's attempt to land, and the painful experience of tossing about and severe seasickness to which that commander and his forces apparently succumbed. On the occasion of Plautius' attempt, being further out in the channel, the great seas

¹ Read at the Monthly Meeting of the Institute, November, 1888.

² "The chief papers on the subject of these remarks are those by Dr. Guest in the *Archæological Journal*, Vol., xiii. and Sir G. Airy's papers in the *Athenæum*, Jan. 28th, 1860, reprinted with an added map in a collection called 'Essays on the Roman Invasions of Britain,' and lastly an article in *Nature*, April 14, 1886. It might be tedious to recapitulate fully the opinions of these writers, so I shall only refer to these occasionally. Dion's account is given in the *Archæological Journal*, xxiii, and by Petrie and Sharp, and though it

need not be repeated, for all employ the same words in translation, there is considerable difference in the modes of explanation given by Dr. Guest and Sir G. Airy, and I find, in looking carefully at the exact sequence of events mentioned by Dion, that there is room for a still different view."

³ Guest makes the expedition go northward to Richboro', to Dover, and north-west to (Lymp)ne. Airy makes it go due north to Southend-on-the-Thames, but I regard the star as my guide from Boulogne as a centre.

and tempestuous weather drove the ships back to port, and so disheartened the men as to threaten the success of the affair, had they not been re-assured and their commander assisted by a kindly star, which, like them, *westward* sailing, cheered them on. It is not stated where the landing was effected, but that the enemy took to the marshes and woods instead of coming to an engagement. It may have been, as I think it was, therefore, that they landed somewhere in the neighbourhood of Porchester or in the Solent, this being the most likely place for reaching the *first* district named by Dion.¹

Plautius after some time, having with difficulty brought on an engagement, defeated first Caractacus and then Togodumnus. Caractacus was ruler of the Midlands; he was the head of many tribes and kings, and Togodumnus was his ally. Bericus, when he sought the aid of Claudius, desired to overcome Caractacus as the chief of his enemies; this, it appears to me, explains why Plautius made for the nearest port to Caractacus' headquarters, among the Catuvellauni. No places are indicated by Dion as the sites of the first two battles, but the Boduni, who were subject to the Catuvellauni, had the honour of supporting a Roman Garrison. The Boduni have been generally considered as the same tribe as the Dobuni of Ptolemy and they lived around Corinuim or Cirencester; if, therefore, Plautius went for that place first it would explain his having no rivers to cross, or at least, as we find, none worth recording. Having passed round by the Cotswolds, or, at all events by the head waters of the Thames river, the army went eastward triumphantly through the Catuvellaunian state which lay north of the Thames, perhaps somewhat in the line of the Akeman Street as given by Guest, until it came to a "*certain*" river, which the barbarians supposed could not be crossed without a bridge.² If this was not the Colne it was the Lea, being, as I suppose, the only river which could have caused any trouble along the line of

¹ Dr. Guest makes the expedition land at three distant places. But Dion does not mention this, he only says it was divided into three, but it clearly is implied that the landing was at one time and place, no opposition being offered.

² Some older writers, with Horsley, make it the Severn. Ward thinks it was

a river neither so large nor so far west. Guest says it was the Thames at Wallingford, but the Thames is first mentioned *after* this battle, and, as the engagement took place not far from the estuary, it could not have occurred at Wallingford. Airy's account I cannot follow at all with Dion.

march suggested by me. The battle was desperate and lasted two days. As the borders of Caractacus' State, that of the Catuvellauni, and the borders of Togodumnus' State that of the Trinobantes, was at the Lea or somewhere near it, it is easily understood why the defeated Britons should make a stand at so propitious a spot. The Lea below Rye House presented at that time just the conditions which the description of the battle requires for its comprehension. At this battle Togodumnus was slain and the Britons retreated to the Thames, which they crossed. Having come now to the point of special interest with me I give the two translations which, perhaps, have the greatest value in the understanding of the matter, thus,

Petrie and Sharp:—"The Britons retreating to the River Thames where it disembogues itself into the ocean and becomes an estuary at high tide, and easily passing it, as they were well acquainted with those parts which were firm and fordable, the Romans pursued them, &c.

Dr. Guest.—"The Britons having withdrawn themselves thence to the River Thames whence it empties itself into the ocean, and at flow of tide forms a lake, &c."

The lake theory is in my opinion a stretch of the verb *λινάζω*, as it equally well means *forms marshes* as *forms a lake*, in which case it would be a salt lake. I therefore prefer to say, forms an *estuary* as commonly understood, before the river joined the sea. At the time the Romans came the river valley was a fenny, marshy district, permeated by fresh streams, for a distance many miles further down than at the present day, and at that time never overwhelmed by sea-water. The marshes were covered with large and old trees, in fact, it was firm ground. The meads were inhabited for some distance below Gravesend and Tilbury. As the river flowed only in one direction in this district it was very different from the present one. There were no banks, it was much narrower and shallower, and liable to be obstructed by gravel and sandbanks. Sunken trees (snags) and shallows abounded, which facilitated the construction of conveniences for traversing the lowlands, thus making it easily passable to those knowing the way. It may assist the comprehension of my meaning if we fancy twenty miles or so of the Thames above London, without the embankments

as now, deferred to the twenty miles below it, I mean as to physical conditions, not as to direction of flow. Then much of the theories of Airy and Guest would be applicable to the district about Gravesend or lower down. Considering the abundant Roman remains about East Tilbury and Higham—the course of ancient roads and the evidence of subsequent history—it is quite possible that Plautius crossed there or thereabout. The word *γεφυρα* is usually translated bridge, in the sense of a way raised clear above the water. Yet this bridge may not have been of such a kind; the expression that “the Romans passed by means of fords and a bridge, a little higher up,” does not necessarily imply a bridge with arches; at the most, I think, it might have been a bridge on piles. Yet even this is not necessary. The English word bridge had other meanings than that confined to arch or bow, as I have before remarked, and it appears that the Greek *γεφυρα*, as well as the Latin *pons* as noticed by Dr. Ward,¹ (Horsley) may sometimes be allowed considerable and similar varieties of meaning.

When the Britons crossed the Romans pursued them, and at this point failed to overtake them, but the Keltoi swimming over again (as on the Lea *passim*), and others passing by means of a bridge, a little higher up, they attacked the Britons on every side and cut off many of them; but, rashly pressing on the remainder, they (Romans) wandered into the pathless marshes and lost many of their own soldiers. Having got across the River,² Plautius secured his present possessions and sent for Claudius. Plautius settled for a time on the south side of the Thames.³ I cannot point to any spot where he

¹ Dr. Ward quotes a passage from Herodian II., 47, thus “He took care, in the first place, to lay bridges through the fenny grounds that the soldiers, marching in safety, might readily pass them and might stand firmly upon a solid bottom when they fought, for many places of Britain upon the recess of the tide become fenny, which the barbarian are accustomed to swim over or wade through up to the hips.”

² Dr. Guest does not consider that the Romans crossed the River Thames now, but that Plautius encamped on the present site of London to wait for Claudius. He says “When they” (the Romans)

“stated that they crossed the Thames they merely meant that they crossed the northern area of the Great Lake which spread out its waters before them on either hand,” that is, they crossed the Lea River, and he feels “driven to place ‘this crossing on the fords of the Watling Street in the neighbourhood of Stratford.’”

³ He must have got across the river into Kent or Surrey, because Claudius and he had to re-cross the river to get to Camalodunum. Airy places Plautius' quarters at Keston, but Keston is not on the Thames, nor do we know where Noviomagus was.

encamped ; it is not likely that it was in one spot only that forty or fifty thousand men encamped, besides, the shore, or river side and country of North Kent has always been a highly-civilized district, and civilization levels all asperities and greatly tends to remove all signs of war. In this district sundry vestiges of camps, which I have known have been finally obliterated within my memory. When Claudius arrived he found Plautius on the south of the Thames, in Kent as I think, and this is the more likely since Claudius, during his visit, was able to accomplish so much in so short a time. He landed and joined Plautius, fought a battle in crossing the Thames northward, destroyed Camulodunum, subjugated several other places, and taking leave of Britain embarked, all within the space of sixteen days, of which he could hardly have spent a week in Essex.



THE CHURCH PLATE OF THE COUNTY OF WARWICK.

By the Rev. G. MILLER, M.A. ¹

In tracing the history of the Church Plate belonging to the county of Warwick, I would wish at the commencement to draw your attention to the east window of the south aisle of Brinklow church, once a chapel of the Blessed Sacrament. For as we gaze upon that window, covered with peerless illustrations of the golden chalices of our old national church, we are able to realise the beautiful enrichment of the altars of the cathedrals, and parochial churches, when in the fourteenth and fifteenth, and early part of the sixteenth century, on high festival they were adorned with communion plate of the highest excellence, and of the best and most artistic workmanship. In this church, worthy in many other respects of the visit of the archæologist and the historian, many an artist now comes to make drawings of these paintings of the old chalices, so that they may be reproduced in our own age, to be used for the honour and glory of God.

The first account we possess of the communion plate of our parish church is the inventory of Church goods, made in 1552, by order of Edward VI. The inventories of our county I have carefully studied; and the first thing that struck me was the great devastation that there had been previous to that time, in the stores of communion plate. For when we compare these records with the requirements enforced by many of our Archbishops, as for example Archbishop Winchelsea, 1293, and 1313, in respect to the church goods of our parishes, the amount of church plate recorded in them is exceedingly small. And when we add to the plate belonging to the parish church, that which

¹ Read in the Antiquarian Section at the Annual Meeting of the Institute, at Leamington, August 7th, 1888.

was used in the Lady and other chapels, and especially that belonging to the chantrys which were so often attached to our churches, and where the Blessed Sacrament was daily celebrated, we see at a glance how considerable the church plate must have been that was found in each parish before the Reformation.

At the dissolution of the chantries, and chapels, the properties belonging to them were seized at once by the Royal Commissioners. Nothing was left that had belonged to them except the bare walls. Their endowments and church goods were taken by the Crown. Nothing, therefore, was left to its parish church except that which could be proved to belong actually to it, in the way of endowments, or of church goods. Still, much plate must have remained. But from the year 1536, in different ways, the church plate considerably diminished. Sometimes this was caused by the action of commissioners sent by royal authority; often the plate was stolen. In a few instances a portion was sold for repairs, and for defraying the necessary expenses entailed by altering the churches, so as to make them adapted for the ritual of the reformed prayer-book; and for the purchase of new service books, the homilies and other books. Some plate also was sold to glaze and repair the windows, out of which its fine old painted glass had been ruthlessly taken away.

In the year 1552, commissioners consisting of the country gentlemen of each county, city, bishoprics, and towns, were appointed to take surveys and inventories of the goods, plate, jewels, bells, and other ornaments belonging to all churches and chapels within the realm. These commissioners were to leave one chalice in each church, together with a small portion of the other church goods, and at least one bell. The ostensible object of these commissioners was to ensure the preservation of all church goods that remained. But behind the scenes we find that other causes were at work. In the Council book, March 3, of the same year, we find the following entry: "It was that day agreed that, forasmuch as the King's Majesty has need presently of a mass of money, therefore commissions should be addressed in all shires of England, to take into the King's hands such plate as remaineth, to be applied to the King's use." And again, on 21st

April, Edward, himself writes: "It was agreed that commissioners should go out and take certificates of superfluous plate for mine use." The commissioners were, therefore, appointed, and we have their reports. The first thing I would remark in reference to these reports is the exceedingly few chalices (each chalice had a cover used as a paten, therefore we will say chalices and patens) that they found. In only a few churches were there two chalices. There was, for example, only one in the Warwick church. There was a fair amount of vestments, altar cloths, brass candlesticks, censers, and holy water pots, though of these in the hundred of Barlichway and Kineton, there were not so many as in the other two, while around Coventry there seem to have been many churches, where nothing was left at all, as we have no inventory for them. So that there seems to have been hardly anything, after paying the expenses of the commission to fill the needy pocket of the poor young king. These lists are given in a summary form in my account of the different parishes of Warwickshire.

During the reign of Mary the small amount of plate that remained, as far as we can learn, was safely kept, so we must arrive at the conclusion that when Elizabeth became queen most of our parish churches possessed a chalice of the old shape as well as other ornaments for the church and minister. The question then arises, "how came it to pass that all these old chalices have passed away." The answer is as follows:—In 1559, Archbishop Parker enquired in his visitation articles, Question No. 5, "whether the curate or minister do minister in any profane cups, bowls, dishes, or chalices heretofore used at mass, or else in a decent communion cup kept for that purpose." In 1576 Archbishop Grindall made the same enquiries. How Archbishop Parker, who ever loved primitive and ancient customs, could have issued the first of these questions passes my comprehension. If the brass censers used by Corah and his company were sanctified, even the greatest Puritan ought to have allowed, with the open Bible before him, that these chalices could not have been profaned, however superstitious the older rites might appear to him. The result was that the old chalices disappeared, so we find nothing remaining of them in the

church plate that has come down to us from the sixteenth century except in a few very rare instances.

Amongst the communion service of this county, and I have personally examined the larger portion of them, a fair number of the Elizabethan communion cups still remain—perhaps some twenty or thirty. They are all, as usual, very much of the same pattern; and this resemblance of the Elizabethan chalice is somewhat curious, as we can find no pattern selected and ordered by authority to be used at this time, and yet all over the kingdom one pattern is to be found. Sometimes they are called the £5 cup, as £5 was allowed to poor parishes for the purchase of them. The cup has a cover, which, as Grindal tells his clergy, may be used as a paten. They are, as a rule, about five inches high, in some cases rather higher. A few years later on we find another shape sometimes used, which was called the Puritan pattern. The cup itself became enlarged, and the ornamentation of the stem was different.

Amongst the plate of the sixteenth century, I must mention the fine silver-gilt chalices, with cover, belonging to the Holy Trinity Church, Coventry. In some instances these old communion cups and covers have passed out of use; modern service, much less elegant and less adapted to the purpose, having supplanted them of their birth-right. I am glad to say that in some instances I have been the means of bringing them back again to their proper place and use. With the advent of the seventeenth century, we find the use of flagons becoming frequent. I cannot but think that their introduction was caused by the Puritan method of partaking of the Holy Communion, which made it more of a meal than a sacramental act; and which culminated at the time of the Commonwealth, when they sat round the Lord's board instead of kneeling before it, and as a consequence, much more wine was consumed. From the beginning of the seventeenth century the shape of the chalice became varied, and since then there has not been any regular shape or size of the chalice in general use.

In Warwickshire the distinguishing feature of the church plate in this, the seventeenth century, is the magnificent Dudley plate, given by Alicia Lady Dudley,

relict of Sir Robert Dudley, to those parishes in which she had property. The earliest gift seems to have been presented in about 1630, the latest 1665. This plate is of repoussé work, most probably Spanish make. As Archdeacon Lee says, it much resembles the plate which is now to be seen at Seville and other cathedrals in Spain. It consists generally of one large chalice; the cup part is ornamented with leaves in it, which seem to be of appliqué work; one paten, one large flagon, one deep bowl, which is, I imagine, the decent bason for the alms of the people, and a plate. The following entry in one of the registers will give a good description of these munificent gifts:—"Whereas her Grace the Duchess of Dudley—a foreign title—in the county of Middlesex, owner of land and tenement in Mare Cliff and Barton, in this parish, hath out of her pious disposition and benevolence towards the church, freely given and bestowed this Communion plate, to wit: a large flagon, a bread bowl, and a great chalice, (in other churches there are two plates), besides all three having covers belonging to them, the said plates being richly gilt, and garnished with pictures and flowers; for the use of the Holy Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, to be administered in the same church as an ornament suitable for the service of that most sacred banquet. With and upon this condition that the sacred plate shall for ever solely remain for the use aforesaid, and shall not be diverted, employed, or disposed of, for any other use; and upon this further condition, that if at any time hereafter the vicar, churchwardens, or other officers or inhabitants of the said parish for the time being, shall presume or endeavour to alienate sell, or embezzle, or otherwise dispose of the plate aforesaid, or any part thereof for the use aforesaid, that these gifts above mentioned shall become void and frustate, and be vested in the said Duchess, her heirs and assigns, who shall and may have lawful right to demand, sue for and recover the same or the value thereof, from the parties so alienating, selling, and embezzling, or otherwise disposing of the plate aforesaid."

In examining our church plate I cannot fail to notice how small a portion of it dates from before the time of the Civil War. No doubt a good deal of the old plate dis-

appeared at that time, partly by being abstracted from the churches, partly from being melted down to defray the expenses of the war and the necessities of the time. With the advent of peaceful days, after the restoration in 1660, the churches were refurnished with communion services. But, unless I am much mistaken, a considerable portion was, through want of money, made of pewter. Still, large gifts of silver plate were made, much of which is decidedly good of its kind. And, when the Church had regained her position in the reign of Queen Anne, large gifts of plate were made which were continued to be made till the middle of last century. This was the time and period when the Holy Communion was more frequently celebrated than at any other time since the Reformation, till the present church revival. Then weekly celebrations were frequent in London and other large towns—in some cases there were daily celebrations, as we see in the “*Pietas Londinensis*” and other books of a like nature. During this period the plate of our shire was naturally much increased, and the beautiful specimens of silver-gilt plate to be seen at Baginton and Cubbington belong to this period. As the century passed on, but few services of communion plate were added, and it was not again till after the peace of 1815, and when quieter times prevailed, that our churches were once more enriched with the pious gifts of her children. But here I must not omit to mention the Stoneleigh plate given in 1805.

Since the great Church revival, which dates from 1835, numerous beautiful additions have been made to our church plate, and once again we see the form of the old chalice reappearing in our churches. Amongst these gifts of chalices stands pre-eminent those which belong to the Parish Church of Leamington, which, though given in our own days, really belongs to the time of Henry VIII. The cup of the chalice is silver gilt, richly embossed with figures. Round the lower part of the cup are designs, taken from the events in our Blessed Lord's life. On the central knob are the figures of faith, hope, charity, and justice. Round the foot we see Eve in the temptation, Melchisedech and Abraham, Moses striking the rock, the Israelites gathering manna. There is also a second chalice, which seems to have been obtained to match, as far as

possible, the one I have just alluded to. It is of more modern date, but very handsome. The knob is ornamented with cherubs ; on the foot are the emblems of the four Evangelists. This cup is enriched with carving put on like appliqué work. It is of English make, and is unique of its kind, as at the period at which it was made no chalices were made in England, excepting in the shape of cups. Mention, too, must be made of the chalice at Ipsley, which has two handles, the Hall Mark is 1682, the corner part is embossed with flowers.

UNUSUAL DOORWAYS IN OLD BUILDINGS.¹

By T. TURNER.

In bringing before the Archæological Institute the following observations I should at once say that I have been induced to do so rather by the hope of obtaining information upon some of the difficulties to which I shall allude, than with the idea of imparting much information. I will describe some of the puzzles which I have met with, but I do not intend to explain these features, indeed, I cannot do so; but, on the contrary, I hope the members of the Institute will be able to throw light on some of my difficulties.

I will first describe one of the last churches which I have seen, viz., that of Orton Longueville. It is situated two miles west of Peterborough and is dedicated to the Holy Trinity.

It possesses three unusual features but I will describe roughly the whole building. Its ground plan consists of a western tower, nave with north and south aisle, and south porch, and a chancel with a north aisle. So far it is a most ordinary building but it is unusual in that it is built in one style throughout, viz., the Decorated style, excepting a few windows of a later date. Although no earlier features are now to be found it was not to be supposed that no earlier church existed, and I found when it was restored in 1836, at the expense of the Duke of Northumberland and the Marquis of Huntley, that remains of Norman foundations were discovered. What has become of the font I cannot say. In 1721 this parish was merged with Botolph Bridge and the church in that village was abandoned.

¹ Read at the Monthly Meeting of the Institute January 7th, 1889.

On the outside of the chancel, on the south side, there are two wide and deeply recessed niches at the level of the windows, but otherwise there is nothing to attract special attention.

Inside the chancel, on the north side, close to where the altar rail stands, there is a sharply-pointed recess about six inches wide and perhaps three feet to the apex of the arch. I cannot even make a guess as to its origin. This is my first puzzle. In the west wall of the chancel, on either side the chancel arch, there is a recessed stone seat. These probably were the return stalls.

In the eastern respond, of both the north and south arcade of the nave, there is an opening something like a doorway, although there is no sign of a door having hung in either opening. The openings go right through the wall and stop about two feet from the present floor level. This is my second puzzle.

In justice to myself it is only fair that I should say that my time for studying the archaeological features of buildings, which I visit on behalf of the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings, is always limited, my duties being, first, to consider the *structural* condition of the building; secondly, its capacity for meeting present requirements; and lastly, the most pleasurable one, of trying to find out its history; and in tracing the history of a building is it not the case that one always wants to make a second visit, and often a third and a fourth? After one has left the building, and quietly thought it over, fresh possibilities occur to one, or it may be that one talks it over with a friend, who throws fresh light upon the subject, and one can neither confirm or confute his suggestion without again seeing the building. I am sorry I cannot say for certain whether these openings are of the same dates as the arcades or not, but my belief, after having studied the jointing, is that they were built at the same time as the arcades. They could not have been intended merely to give light, for, had that been the need, obviously, the simple course would have been to have let the first arch of each arcade spring from the west wall, so as to have no respond, or only a slight one. So far I have only been able to think of one possible explanation.

It has seemed to me possible that these openings were

entrances to the rood loft staircase, or more probably ladder. There are signs of a screen having existed across the chancel arch. My suggestion is that another screen was placed west of the openings in question and that a way up to the loft was formed between the two screens somewhat after the manner of the Canterbury Cathedral choir screen although, of course, the two cases are not parallel. I should perhaps say that there are no signs of a rood loft stair in any of the usual places.

Doubtless had one seen the church before it was restored in 1836 the whole of the question would have been more intelligible, and I may add that the restoration which is just going to take place will make the matter still more puzzling to future antiquaries as a screen will be placed in the chancel arch and thus hide the marks which prove the existence of a former screen. But I am glad to be able to say that the architect promises to deal much more leniently with the church than is usual.

My next puzzle is to be found in the western tower, but on our way there I should like to call attention to a large shallow cupboard on the north aisle wall. Upon opening the doors there is displayed to view a painting of St. Christopher bearing Christ. It is in a far more perfect condition than any I have ever seen, although there certainly is a very good one at All Saints' Church, Warlingham, Surrey. The Warlingham one has been made as large as the wall space would allow, but the Orton Longueville one might have been much bigger.

Attached to the pillar of the south arcade, opposite the south door, there is a money box which is used solely by women who have been churched.

Now the last unusual feature, which I spoke of as being in the tower, is this: on the south side there is the usual stair turret, leading up to the ringing chamber and the belfry, but on the north side there is another turret, which leads up as far as the ringing chamber only.

I suppose there can be no doubt that the turret had stairs in it originally, but at present there is a doorway on the ground level, and another opening on to the ringing-chamber floor, and *no steps*, a rough vault having been thrown over eight or nine feet above the ground level. What could have been the reason for building this turret?

It is of the same date as the tower, but it could not have been built with a view of making the two sides of the tower match, for, first of all, it does not do so, and secondly, such a motive is quite a foreign one to mediæval builders. There seems to me to be but one possible reason for building two staircases, viz., that there was a large traffic up to the ringing chamber or first floor of the tower, and therefore one staircase was provided for ascent and the other for descent. And the only explanation to be given for so many wishing to go up into this room is, I suppose, that a relic was kept there, and that pilgrims came to see it, but the whole of this suggestion is, to say the least, very problematical, and I hope some better suggestion will be made.

Let me now ask you to turn your thoughts from this church to the most interesting and well-known church of Langford, in Oxfordshire, which stands near the railway line beyond Witney, and about two miles short of Lechlade. The building has a most unusual plan. There is a large Norman tower, with a very long and large chancel of greater width than the tower to the east of it and a long nave on the west sides with aisles, the nave being the same width as the tower and the aisles running on beyond the east end of the nave for half the width of the tower, thus forming two good chapels.

The church will probably be recalled to the mind of anyone who has seen it by the two very large flying buttresses on the north side of the nave supporting the nave aisle wall. This wall has to receive the thrust of two other flying arches which support the nave wall. The whole is an ingenious contrivance to meet the difficulty of the nave arcade having gone outwards at this point. However, the special feature I wish to draw attention to is an early English doorway on the south side of the chancel quite close to the east end. When I visited the church the incumbent told me that it was the opinion of the local Archæological Society that this doorway must have been moved to its present position and recommended that it should be moved further west for it was alleged that its present position must be wrong as it opened into the church *within* the altar rail.

Although this was one way of getting over a difficulty it did not appear to me to be a satisfactory one.

The doorway showed no signs of having been moved and on entering the church I found a large recessed locker, with many compartments, on the north wall just opposite the doorway. It then occurred to me that the east end of the chancel which is, as I have already said, of unusual length, must have originally been used as a vestry, a screen having been placed across the chancel just west of the doorway in question, the altar standing against it in the middle on the west side, and probably a doorway through the screen being provided on either side the altar after the usual manner when a vestry was built at the east end. I am sorry to have to confess that what I have said about this church is from memory only and that I have no measured plan of the building, and I will, therefore, let my next example be one which I know really well and which I have partially measured. In fact to make sure of some points I visited it again last Monday.

The building I refer to is St. Catherine's Chapel which stands upon a little hill about a mile out of Guildford between the river and Portsmouth Road. Before describing the building, which is now a ruin, I had better say that the questions I am going to ask are—Why should such a small building have such a large west doorway? Why should it also have a north and south doorway? and, still more strange, why should the two windows over these doorways have been blocked up and filled in with two more doorways? The building is a simple parallelogram measuring inside 20 ft. $8\frac{1}{2}$ in. wide and 46 ft. $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. long. The walls are from 2 ft. 9 in. to 2 ft. 10 in. thick and have two buttresses at each angle, excepting the north west angle where there is a fine vaulted turret staircase, the steps having all gone.

There are two buttresses in the length of the building on each side and three windows, a doorway being under each central window. There is a large eastern window 8 ft. wide, and this window, and the windows due north and south of the altar, are all about 5 ft. lower than the four other side windows. At the west end there is a doorway 6 ft. wide with a window about the same width above it. There are no corbels or niches for images, no piscina, credence, sedilia, or aumbrey, and no signs of any galleries having ever existed.

The History of Guildford by the two brothers Russell, printers, of that town, says that the chapel is spoken of in the Pipe Rolls of the fourteenth year of Henry III. and again in the following reign of Edward I. This makes a building to have been in existence here in 1229, and I suppose it to be this building. If so the Decorated style of mediæval architecture came into use earlier than is usually believed to have been the case for it was undoubtedly built early in the time when the Decorated style first came in. The windows originally had tracery and the south doorway has a singly cusped head embraced with a label struck from two centres the section of which is undoubtedly of that period.

A bell used to hang in the turret having on it the inscription "Santa Catharina ora pro nobis," but John Weston, the bailiff, of Guildford, in 1735 says that this bell was melted in the eight bells in the lower parish of Guildford.

The materials used for the walls is the local sandstone which is full of iron, and with age turns to a bright purple brown, and clunch for the dressings. In passing it is worth noting that they bonded the *internal* angles of the building with finely dressed ashlar and that the walls were plastered all over on the inside, the plaster being taken over the ashlar. In none of the different building trades are we so much behind our predecessors as in the plasterer's trade. It is one of the few evils which followed upon the good preaching of Mr. Ruskin that paint and plaster are looked upon as shams and this has resulted in quantities of beautiful mediæval plaster being destroyed and with it paintings upon the plaster which have been hidden by whitewash.

Undoubtedly also this disrespect which has been shewn towards plaster-work has resulted in its neglect so that we cannot now get a plain wall properly plastered, much less any decorative work in plaster properly done.

I am, however, allowing myself to be led away from my subject, viz., that of the five doorways (not counting the turret doorway) in this little ruined chapel.

The western doorway is, as I have already said, unusually wide, viz., 6 ft., but it is unusual in another respect for there is no check in the stone jambs for the

doors to stop against, the jambs being taken square straight through the wall. The same is the case with the north doorway although in both cases there is the usual sinking in the arches to receive the doors. The south doorway has its jambs and arches arranged in the usual way.

Before saying anything about the upper doorways which have been added to the building let us first consider those belonging to the original building. It is always safe I think to conclude that the builders in the middle ages were as reasonable as the builders of to day. Indeed, when one sees attempts made at building in the style of the Normans in our days and of rough rubble unplastered walls being put inside buildings or the brick front of a house fifty or sixty feet high being carried on an iron girder one is even tempted to give the mediæval builder credit for being more reasonable than the builder of to day. I shall, therefore, conclude that there was a good reason for building all these doorways as they are. But they certainly would not have built them so had the chapel simply been a chapel of ease for an ordinary small congregation.

Now, the lane which runs in continuation of the track across Puttenham Common and which is now called Sandy Lane is marked on the Ordnance map as "Pilgrim's Way." This lane runs down close by St. Catherine's chapel to the ferry over the river Wey. Tradition says that the pilgrims used to visit St. Martha's church, a Norman cruciform building which stands on St. Martha's Hill. This hill is a little over two miles east of Guildford. The more direct route for them to have taken would have been along the old Roman road which runs along the Hog's back, and a more beautiful road, with its extensive view both to the right and left, could hardly be found in all England. It seems to me more probable that they would go this way both on account of safety and also because they then would be able to make Guildford a resting place and they could make a special visit to St. Catherine's as it would be less than a mile out of their way. At any rate tradition says that the pilgrims going from Winchester to Canterbury used to visit St. Catherine's chapel. It is even now a beautiful spot and it must have

been even more beautiful in those days with the silvery river Wey flowing in the valley below, through the water meadows unlocked and unpolluted by the town of Godalming, and its obnoxious paper mills.

Now, if we study the chapel and bear in mind that it must have contained some holy relic and that it was visited by the Canterbury pilgrims it becomes more intelligible. The large six feet wide doorway at the west end would be a great convenience. It may be that they had an open grill across it so that the chapel might be locked up and people still be able to worship by placing themselves at the west door where a considerable number would be able to see in, or on special occasions it may be that they opened both the north and the south door, so that the pilgrims coming in large numbers could pass in at one door and out of the other. I am in fact now explaining the existence of these two doors in the same way as I tried to explain the existence of the two turrets in the tower of Orton Longueville church. Of course, I do not suppose that every church which had a north and south door was visited by pilgrims, and I think that these doors, which are to be found in nearly every parish church, were in all probability placed there solely for the use of funeral and other processions. There is one difficulty to be got over and that is why they provided no stop for the door in the jambs of the north and west doorway, and yet gave the south doorway and the turret doorway the usual stop.

My suggestion is that at times when the pilgrims were not coming to the chapel, the south doorway, being provided with a hung door, was the only one used, and that the north and west doorways did not have hung doors in them, but only what might be called movable shutters. Such shutters would stop against the rebate in the stonework of the arch and the doorstep, or they might drop into a groove on the floor and be secured against the rebate in the arch by a bolt. Shutters so secured would be far more safe than any hung on hinges and secured by a lock, and they would not require the usual stop in the jamb as a door would, although, of course, such a stop would break the joint between the wood and the stonework and keep the weather out better.

On the other hand, there can be no doubt that an opening without either a door or stops on the jambs is far the best form for a crowd of people to pass through.

I am sorry to say that I have not as yet taken the obvious course of examining the jambs of all the doorways with a view of ascertaining what ironwork has been let into them, and this may probably throw some light on the subject.

The first features about the ruin which originally attracted my attention, and caused me to puzzle over it, were the doorways which have been inserted in the central window on each side, and I will not trespass upon your time further than to describe them to you, and, perhaps, offer a humble suggestion. The south window has had a doorway with a two-centred arch placed in its middle, flush with the outside wall. Both arch and jamb have a plain chamfer on them, and the jamb is of the usual door-jamb section, *i.e.*, it widens out after passing about six inches into the wall, and it is then taken straight through to the inner face of the wall, where a segmental arch struck from one centre is thrown over the opening. This arch is very flat and has a chamfer upon it.

Clearly then the door on this side of the chapel must have been hung in the usual way like the one below it and have opened into the building.

Now the window on the north side of the chapel has been filled, in exactly the reverse way to the window on the south side. On the *inside* it has a doorway with a two-centred arch, similar to the one described as being on the *outside* of the south wall, and an arch struck from one centre, but not so flat as the one in the south wall, has been placed on the *outside* of the north wall.

Therefore the doorway on the south side lead into the building and the doorway on the north side lead out of the building.

Are we not justified in supposing that a gallery must have existed between the two doorways and that its object was to allow people to pass through the chapel? I venture to think that it could have had no other use and that it justifies my suggested origin of the two doors on the ground floor.

There are no signs whatever of any stage having existed

outside these doors on either side and it is almost impossible to assign a date to the doorways, but I am inclined to believe that they were added very soon after the chapel was built.

As, however, I have been bold enough to start a theory, I had better make myself clear by stating how I believe this chapel was used, even at the risk of repetition.

I believe the present chapel was built originally for the accommodation of the pilgrims, and that at times of the year when there were but few coming, the great west doorway was left open, so that it could be used at unusual times when pilgrims and others were not expected, but that when the crowds of pilgrims came they passed in the south door and out at the north. After a time this was found to give insufficient accommodation and it was then that a gallery over head was resorted to and temporary ladders or wooden steps were put up against the building to give a way in and out of the gallery.

NOTES ON PAINTED SCREENS AND ROOFS IN NORFOLK¹

By G. E. FOX, F.S.A.

The following few notes have been arranged for the purpose of directing attention to a class of antiquities for which East Anglia is celebrated. No other county in England except Suffolk can exhibit such a display of painted roofs and screens as Norfolk does, and Suffolk alone equals Norfolk in the number and beauty of such remains.

I venture to call your attention to Norfolk screens and roofs for the reason that during the meeting fine examples of both will be seen.

The screens are for the most part Chancel screens, the forms of which are too well known to need elaborate description, the upper portion, consisting, beneath the rood loft, of open work tracery in various forms, the lower, filled in solidly and divided into narrow panels, varying in number with the size and divisions of the screen. All these screens are of wood, richly painted and gilt, but the interest they have for us lies in the treatment of the panels of the lower portion. These are generally enriched by a painting of a single figure in each, and the backgrounds are often beautifully powdered with rosettes and sprays, in gold and colours, to represent embroidered hangings.

The ordinary arrangement of a Norfolk screen shows in its panels the twelve apostles, six on one side of its central doorway or opening, six on the other, or if the screen, from its width, contains more than twelve panels, then the centre ones are filled with the figures of other saints, or very commonly with the four Doctors of the church, though if there are doors to the screen, these are placed on the

¹ Read in the Architectural Section, at the Annual Meeting of the Institute, at Norwich, August 10th, 1889.

door panels. Many saints are, however, represented in the panel paintings, and naturally the local saints are frequently found amongst them. Occasionally the heavenly hierarchies are represented but not commonly. Those on the screen of the church of Barton Turf are good examples, but are not equal to similar ones on the screen at the east end of the north aisle of Southwold Church, Suffolk, where the arrangement is far more complete.

Representations of subjects, *i.e.*, compositions of several figures, as distinguished from single ones, are not common. A few instances can, however, be given.

The first two panels of the screen at North Walsham contain the subject of the Annunciation, the figure of the Virgin being in one, and the Archangel in the other. Panels of the screen in Loddon Church exhibit the Martyrdom of St. William of Norwich, the Adoration of the Magi, and the Circumcision. Two subjects of singular nature are to be found on the panels of the screen at Sparham church. In the first of the southern division stand two skeletons, side by side, of a gallant and a lady, both richly attired, the gallant holds in his hand a flaming torch, with a scroll round it having the words "Sic transit Gloria Mundi," the lady offers him a nosegay. Behind both of the figures are inscriptions relating to the brief and fleeting nature of human life. In the next compartment a single skeleton, in its shroud, rises from a tomb and points to a font in the background, on which various scrolls bear inscribed a text from Job, also on the transitory nature of human life (Job, chap. x., v. 19.¹) Occasionally figures of donors kneeling, occur in late paintings, as on the Fritton screen, which perhaps may be dated as late as 1520 or later.²

Nothing can exceed the richness of detail in the painted ornamentation of some of these screens. The delicate flower and spray work which fills every hollow of the mouldings, and is powdered over the backgrounds of the figures, the wonderful elaboration of the patterns of the dresses of those figures—such patterns as are only to be equalled by the productions of the Flemish looms—the delicately applied

¹ "Gentleman's Magazine," 1846. July to December, p. 135.

² "Illustrations of the Rood Screen at

Fritton," published by the Norfolk and Norwich Archaeological Society, 1872.

gilding,—all combine to make up a whole of the greatest beauty. And to enhance the effect, on some of the larger and later screens, the backgrounds of the figures are worked in gesso, in the most delicate relief, and richly gilt. Even the broad flat fillets of the mullions are covered with gesso stamped in intricate patterns of tracery, and having at intervals diminutive niches with tiny figures painted in them, which are protected by morsels of glass set in the pattern, as in a frame. For variety of detail, both in figure and ornament, few screens will equal the one at Randworth. For splendour of effect and multiplicity of forms in the gilt gesso work, certainly none can surpass that at Southwold, but this is a Suffolk screen.

Remains of this delicate plaster work occur on the Cawston screen, which though a fine and large one, fails somewhat in its figures. These are for the most part but poorly conceived and executed. In the choice of the figures the usual arrangement is followed, the whole of the Apostles being represented together with St. Helena and St. Agnes, the Doctors of the Church occupying their accustomed place upon the doors. Another effigy may be seen here, an exception to the usual saintly company, that of Master John Schorn, who is represented in the act of performing the miracle of conjuring the Evil one into a boot. This worthy, though not a saint, appears occasionally on the Norfolk screens, possibly because he was believed in the middle ages to have power to cure the ague, which, in a county possessing so much marsh land as Norfolk, must have been a malady only too common. Master John Schorn is said to have held the rectory of North Marston, Bucks, in 1290, and seems to have been at one time a canon in the Augustinian Priory of Dunstable. The well blessed by him at North Marston was an object of pilgrimage. There are two periods in the figures on this screen; some of the figures on the south side including that of the above-mentioned worthy, were painted at a later date and in a better style than the old ones, on paper or vellum and glued over the older work. The later ones may have been executed when the fabric received the further adornment of the stamped and gilt gesso work which covers the flat surfaces of its main divisions. Some of this decoration remains on these more

recent panels. On the Lessingham screen the same sort of restoration of the panel figures seems to have also been effected.

The following facts relating to the Cawston screen are extracted from Blomefield:—In 1460 John Barker, of Cawston, “gave ten marks towards building the rood loft commonly called the candle beam.”

In 1504 Richard Browne, of Cawston, “gave four marks to paint a pane of the rood loft.”

This inscription was painted on the screen itself. “Prey for the Sowlis of William Atereth and Alice his Wyff the weche dede these iiii¹ Penys Peynte be the Executoris lyff . . .” Unfortunately we have nothing further and the date of the painting is therefore lost.

Not perhaps so interesting as the Cawston screen but much better executed, is the one in the chancel at Aylesham. Only the lower panels remain and they show the usual arrangement of Apostles and Saints, amongst the latter being a figure of Moses. Like the one at Cawston it bore its date, and happily in this instance the date is preserved. The work appears to have been executed in 1507 at the charges of Thomas Wymer, Joan and Agnes his wives, John Jannys, and others whose names are now lost. This same Thomas Wymer was a prosperous worsted weaver of Aylesham who, according to an inscription on his brass, (he died in 1507) gave largely to the adorning of the church during his life, and left the means for continuing that good work, after his death. The other donor whose name has come down to us, John Jannys, Blomefield tells us, was father to the Robert Jannys, Mayor of Norwich in 1517 and 1524, whose portrait may still be seen in the Council Chamber of the Guildhall of that city, and whose fine early Renaissance tomb adorned with his coat of arms, composed of those of the Grocers’ Company and his merchant’s mark, yet exists in the church of St. George, Colegate, Norwich.

Noting only the screens in Tunstead and in Trunch churches as pleasing and complete examples, with the remark that the latter one carries an inscription giving its date as 1502, I must pass on to speak of the two screens of Barton Turf and of Randworth.

¹ History of Norfolk, vol. vi, pp. 264-266.

At Barton Turf we first come across an exception to the usual row of Apostles. The paintings are well executed and the subjects not common, for the greater number of the figures represent the heavenly hierarchies.

Commencing on the north side we find St. Apollonia, St. Sitha, then comes the display of the Heavenly Host, the Powers, Virtues, Dominions, Seraphim; and on the south side, Cherubim, Princedoms, Thrones, Archangels, Angels, and in the last panel St. Barbara.

Unfortunately when we would most wish to know it, the date of the work is not to be discovered. That it is late fifteenth or early sixteenth century however, there can be no doubt.

What gives this screen an exceptional interest, is that some of the panels exhibit examples of armour, such examples on screens being confined to the warrior saints and archangels. Two of the figures, the "Potestates" and "Archangeli" are in complete armour of plate, and seem to show a singular mixture of late and early forms in their panoply.

The screen above mentioned is the chancel screen, but another exists at the east end of the south aisle, the panels of which display three regal saints, St. Edmund, carrying an arrow as his emblem, St. Edward the Confessor, with his ring, and St. Olave with two cakes or loaves in one hand, and a halbert (to represent the Danish battleaxe), in the other. A fourth panel is filled with the figure of King Henry VI, whose effigy is likewise to be found on other screens.

Less well executed than those of Barton Turf, the paintings on the screen at Randworth have also less interest in themselves. But the profusion, the multiplicity and richness of every detail, and a certain completeness of arrangement, make up a whole only to be equalled by the great screen at Southwold, in Suffolk. The Randworth screen with that at Southwold must be placed at the head of the painted screens of East Anglia.

The usual row of Apostles occupies the panels of the chancel screen, the interest, therefore, belongs to the retables of the altars on each side of it. The one on the north contains figures of St. Etheldreda, St. John the Baptist, a repetition of the same saint, and St. Barbara.

The southern retable has figures of St. Mary Salome, wife of Zebedee with her two children, St. James Major, and St. John the Evangelist, St. Mary the Virgin, St. Mary wife of Cleophas with her four children, St. James the Less, St. Jude, St. Simeon, and St. Joseph. The last figure on this retable is St. Margaret. The first figure of the Baptist in the northern retable is evidently that of a female saint altered. The second is only in black outline, the usual way of commencing a subject. The reason for the alterations here, we shall probably never discover.

On the fine parclose screens extending 6 ft. into the nave are represented St. Felix (?), St. George, and St. Stephen on the northern one, on the southern, St. Thomas a Becket (?), St. Lawrence, and St. Michael.¹

No date is to be found on this screen and a bequest in 1419 of Thomas Grym, of Randworth, of five marks "*ad fabricam cancelli*," must refer to the building of the chancel. The paintings, if not the screen itself, may probably be of the end of the fifteenth century or even later.

Leaving the subject of painted screens I now turn to note the painted roofs which are still to be found in the county of Norfolk. The forms of decoration on these, fall into three or four classes. The first consists in the picking out only of the prominent features with colour and the colouring of the carved detail, leaving the greater part of the roof untouched, the natural wood forming a background.

For instance, in the nave roof of North Creak Church, the figures of angels at the ends of the hammer beams are painted white with red or black wings, the mouldings of the principal beams, and the fine cornice, being coloured red, green, white and black.

The north transept of Outwell Church has a roof similarly painted, and that over the nave of Mattishall Church, a rude example, is thus adorned. Necton Church may also be named for traces of colour in the details of the nave roof, and that of the porch of Oxburgh is said to have been likewise painted. An example where the colouring has advanced a step further will be found in the roof of

¹ For this screen see "Illustrations of the Rood Screen at Randworth," published by the Norfolk and Norwich

Archæological Society, 1867, from which the identification given above, of the figures upon it, has been taken.

Knapton. It has received a coat of yellow colour throughout, none of the natural wood being left, and the figures and mouldings are touched with red, green and white.

The second class relies still further on colour, and painted ornament is introduced to a great extent. The whole surface of the exposed rafters is covered with some one colour, the mouldings of the principal divisions of the roof are picked out in another, and ornament executed either by the stencil or by hand, is spread over every available surface.

Such is the case with the nave roof of Salle Church. Here, white is employed for the ground, the main lines are of a brilliant red, and the rafters and interspaces are diapered all over with crowned MS alternating with the sacred letters I.H.C. in red and black. A cornice filled with angels holding scrolls on which are texts in black letter, now scarcely legible, completes the scheme of decoration. A fine roof exists over the nave of Palgrave Church, Suffolk, precisely similar to this in its colouring, but differing from it in the forms of the ornament.

A variety of this class is to be found in the roof of the S. transept of Cawston Church. Here the face of the rafters is coloured a madder-brown, and the interspaces are white, both rafters and interspaces being enriched with stencilled ornament in black and red. The main lines of the roof are brilliant in scarlet blue and green, and the bosses at their intersections are for the most part coloured gold colour and scarlet.

Much richer in effect than either of these classes is the third I have to mention, a system of ornamentation associated only with panelled roofs, which in their divisions present a larger surface for display than where the simple rafters only are treated with colour. A good but comparatively simple example in this style, may be seen in the panelled roof of the chancel of the church appropriated to the uses of the Great Hospital in Bishopgate Street, Norwich, and now called the Eagle Ward. The general ground of this roof is gold colour, and each panel is occupied by a painting of a fine black eagle, displayed. The delicately carved and gilt bosses at the intersections of the thin mouldings of the panels, add much to the beauty of the composition.

Of course, panelled roofs offer an opportunity for an infinite variety in their painted ornamentation, but the favourite arrangement in the East Anglian roofs is that of a wreath enclosing the sacred name, or the initial letter of that of some saint. As an example, may be cited the panelled roof of the north transept of East Dereham Church. Here the general tint of the ground is a very pale green, and the panels bear alternately green wreaths encircling a crowned letter T in red, and double-headed eagles in black. A small chapel on the south side of the same church has a panelled ceiling of a far more elaborate character. On the same pale greenish ground as in the transept roof, green wreaths of a most intricate description are painted, each wreath containing a representation of the holy lamb. The mouldings forming these panels are coloured red, black, and bluish grey, and heightened in effect with a good deal of gilding.

Another panelled roof, with colouring of a much simpler description, exists at the end of the north aisle of Mattishall church. The colours here employed are scarlet approaching to orange, madder brown, white and black, the ground of the panels being alternately scarlet and white with simple wreaths in each, encircling a crowned letter T.

Occasionally, as a variety, the figures of angels are combined with the wreaths, alternating with them, or otherwise arranged, as may be seen in the panels of the roof of the Lady Chapel in the Church of St. John Maddermarket, Norwich. The grounds of these panels, originally white or pale buff, are darkened by dirt, damp, and time, but the figures and the scheme of ornamentation may still be made out. The grounds on which the angels are depicted are diapered alternately with a flower and with the letters M.R. crowned and forming a monogram, and the angels, who wear the most wonderful headdresses, bear scrolls having upon them the words of the angelic salutation.

The last panels of the ceiling are ornamented with groups of wreaths, a centre one and a small one in each corner, bearing within them the letters I.H.C. At the end of the north aisle of the same church, formerly existed a similar ceiling, wherein, as a pleasing variety in each

panel of which an angel formed the centre, a little wreath filled the corners.

This roof, I believe, became so decayed that it was found necessary to remove it. The colours employed were black, white, and brownish red, or madder brown.

To find a much more elaborate composition of this description, we must travel to the south of the county. The panelled eastern bay of the nave roof of the church of St. Mary Magdalen, Pulham, exhibits an elaboration of painted ornamentation, scarcely to be surpassed. Wreaths of green vine leaves and branches encircling the sacred letters, I.H.C. and M.R. painted in red, fill the panels together with figures of seraphim, arranged in a curiously irregular way. Some of the seraphim, strangely crowned and feathered beings, six winged and brilliant in red and purple plumage

“in burning row
Their loud uplifted angel-trumpets blow.”

Whilst others are employed in censuring. It may be noted that the whole of the ground work is white, whilst in the cornice for the first time, the use of blue in a mass is to be observed, this not being at all a usual colour in East Anglian painted roofs.

The preceding remarks have been confined to examples to be found in Norfolk, but the list of painted roofs might be considerably increased, if I included in it the fine specimens to be found in Suffolk. A notice of these, however, scarcely comes within the scope of this paper.

But little is known as to the date of the paintings of these roofs. The roof at Knapton “was erected by one John Smythe in the year 1503¹” and we may conjecture that it was coloured soon after. In the fabric expenses of the College of Mettingham in Suffolk entries occur as to the painting of the roof of the church there, some time after 1420, by Edmund de Bradwelle “peyntour,” who received £13 6s. 6d. for his work.² The roof of the nave of All Saints’ Church, Garboldisham (long since a ruin) was according to Blomefield “boarded and painted all

¹ Norfolk Archaeology, vol. iv, p. 301.

² “Original Documents. Extracts from the ancient accounts of Mettingham Col-

lege, Suffolk. Communicated by the Rev. C. R. Manning,” in Archaeological Journal, vol. vi, 1849, p. 67.

over with the names of Jesus and Mary, and this in the midst :—

Betwex syn yis and
Ye Rode Loff ye yongling
Han payd for yis cost " &c.

That is to say that between the inscription and rood loft, the young men of the parish had paid the cost of the work. Unfortunately we have here again no date.

We may be a little more certain as to the method of painting employed for these roofs. This was, without doubt, tempera; size, sometimes made from skins, sometimes from the sounds of fish, being used to bind the colours. In the fabric expenses of the College of Mettingham, already referred to, a certain Henry Barsham, of Yarmouth, is entered as supplying in 1418-19, "fifty Soundys pissium, 2d." Though occasionally used as glue is now in joinery, these "Soundys" may have also served the painters as well. Much of the ornamentation, I am convinced, was stencilled, tendrils and touches accompanying the monograms and wreaths being added by hand, for they would be much too troublesome to stencil. Figures of course, however rude, would be painted by hand. With respect to the finer and more artistic painted work of the screens, it has been confidently asserted that this was executed in tempera also, but if we take into consideration the lateness of the dates at which many of the finest screens were either made or painted, it is far more probable that the figures, if not the ornamental details, were executed in oil. Of course, such fragments of painted work as may exist before the latter half of the fifteenth century are probably in tempera. The intercourse between Flanders and Norfolk must be considered, where oil painting had been a flourishing art since the time of the Van Eycks; and a certain Flemish influence in some of the details of the panel paintings shows signs of such intercourse.

Who were the men who worked upon the Norfolk screens? Happily to this question there seems a possibility of a reply. For the "Illustrations of the rood screen at Barton Turf," published by the Norfolk and Norwich Archaeological Society, Mr. L'Estrange was able to supply the following list of painters, stainers and glaziers, extending from Edward III to Henry VIII, all from Norwich itself,

48. Edw. III. Johannes de ffrenge Peyntour.
Johannes de Bradewelle Peyntour.
2. Rich. II. Johannes Leggard Peyntour.
- 10 & 11. Ric. II. Stephanus ffrenge Peyntor^r.
Robertus ffrenge Peyntor^r.
Thomas de Ocle Peyntor^r.
9. Hen. IV. Robertus Ocle Peyntor^r.
3. Hen. V. Robertus Syluerne Peytour.
4. Hen. V. Robertus Grey Peyntour.
8. Hen. V. George Knot Steynour.
7. Hen. VI. John Stonhale Steynor.
John Pery Steynor.
13. Hen. VI. John Garner Peyntor^r.
21. Hen. VI. Thomas Hervy Peyntor
proved the liberty of Wm. Hervy,
Graver, his father.
- 24 & 25 Hen. VI. John Maughtild Peyntour
Willelmus Castleacre stenyor & Peyntor^r
Robertus Mayhew Steynour
Thomas Chapel Steynor^r
John Roo Steynor^r
- 31 Hen. VI. John Longys Peyntor
- 33 Hen. VI. Rob. Hykelyng Peyntor
- 8 Edw. IV. W^m Warner Steynor app John Stonhawe
Steynor
- 22 Edw. IV. Nicholas Peyntor Glasier
W^m Skynner Steynor
- 3 Hen. VII. Robert Hervy Steynor son of Thos. Hervy.
- 14 Hen. VII. John Terry Steynor
- 1 Hy. VIII. Rich Euxston Paynto
- 31 Hy. VIII. W^m Moton Steynor¹

¹ I am enabled through the kindness of the Rev. W. Hudson, Vicar of St. Peter Permouthergate, Norwich, to give here, another and earlier list of painters, living in Norwich in the thirteenth century. This list is extracted from deeds of conveyance, called Court Rolls, dating from 1285 to 1298, preserved in the Municipal Archives of that city. It runs as follows. Under the head of Pictor or le Peyntur we find,

Thomas de Lint.
Lawrence de Kirkstede.
Ralph de Attleburgh.
Roger le peyntur, of Norwich.
Peter le pictor, son of W^m de Racheya
le peyntur.

Giles le Fleming of Bruges.
John le p.
Richard pictor.
Olyve le peyntur.
Alan pictor.

The names of other painters at a slightly earlier date still, are preserved in the Sacrists' Rolls of Norwich Priory, under the year 1277. the principal artist in which group seems to have been a certain Master William. Under the date 1288 we have an entry of sums paid to the painters William and Henry. See "Extracts from the account rolls of Norwich Priory." Proceed. of Archæol. Inst., Norwich, Vol. 1847 pp 207-208.

With this list is printed an extract from the will of Margaret, widow of Sir Robert de Berneye, Kt., dated 1416, in which mention is made of a certain table, or panel, painted with the history of St. Katherine, for doing which Robert Okyll of Norwich had received 34s. 4d. This, it will be observed, is one of the names (with slightly different spelling) of the painters in the list given above, under date of Henry IV (1407-8). I find another trace of this painter. In the accounts of the College of Mettingham, is an entry under the year 1413-14, of 66s. 8d. given in part payment to him for making and painting a table or panel for the high altar of the chapel there, and three years after, he receives the balance of his account. In these same accounts another painter's name occurs, this time not a Norwich man. In 1416-17, Thomas of Yarmouth receives £6 10s. in part payment for making and painting two images. In the following year he receives £8 10s. for the two images with their tabernacles, as also for making a table or panel for the altar, and the same entry with the sum of 100s. paid to this painter, occurs in the following year.¹

Possibly the paintings of different dates, preserved in the Church of St. Michael at Plea, Norwich, may be from the hands of Norwich men, and I am fain to see their handiwork also in the beautiful retable, one of the treasures of the cathedral church of the capital of East Anglia, a work of earlier date and greater merit than any I have previously noticed.

An authority on painting, Dr. Waagen, in his "Treasures of Art in Great Britain," considers that this latter is executed in tempera and that the date of its execution lies between 1380 and 1400. He says of it, "Both the figures and the raised elegant patterns of the gold ground entirely resemble the indubitable English miniatures of the same period, so that there is no question in my mind as to the English origin of this picture."

Thus while the Van Eycks and their followers were working in the Netherlands, we had here, in East Anglia, the beginnings of a school of painting which might have rendered Eastern England famous in the records of art.

¹ See extracts from ancient accounts of Mettingham College, &c. *Archæol. Journ.*, Vol. vi, 1849, pp. 64-65.

The great political and religious changes, however, of the sixteenth century gave a blow to that school from which it never recovered. It was not until the early part of the last century that the art of painting rose again in this part of England, but in a different form, with Gainsborough, a Suffolk man, and at a somewhat later period was practised successfully by Crome and his contemporaries, now known to fame as "the Norwich School."

SHOEBURY CAMP, ESSEX.¹

By F. C. J. SPURRELL.

Some ten years ago, it became clear that the outline of the Camp or Bury constructed by Hæsten or Hastings at Shoeburyness, was rapidly becoming obliterated. So in September and October of 1879, I made a plan of it and cut a section through the only small piece of the wall and ditch, which remained whole. But I *was* able to trace out the wall and ditch the whole distance, with one small exception, where a gravel pit had interfered with it. A large part of the ditch, too, had been recently levelled for tennis grounds, but luckily for me so recently, that the settlement due to the former existence of the ditch enabled it to be distinctly traced. The Government has built a wall along the bank of the northern half, and beyond the ditch runs Rampart Street.

On the southern part, a powder store and an enclosure runs along the wall. I was able to get the exact width of the centre of the wall and the outer edge of the ditch where these were cut by the cliff, and in the centre of the western side was able to get a good measurement by digging, &c. The wall was here preserved by a thick underwood and some trees, and seemed to have suffered remarkably little.

Certainly, the Camp was not very strong work and probably was occupied for a very short period, as will be seen by the following account taken from the Saxon Chronicle.

A.D. 894. "Hasten had come to Beamfleet, with the band, which before sat at Middleton (Milton next Sittingbourn) and the great army was also come there which before sat at Apuldre, near Limenemouth (Appledore, Kent). The fortress at Beamfleet (now Benfleet) had

¹ Read at the Monthly Meeting of the Institute, December 6th, 1888.

before this been constructed by Hæsten, and he was at that time gone out to plunder" when a very strong body of the English people who were sent eastward by King Alfred, together with the townsmen of London, and also aid from the west, marched to Bemfleet.

Hæstens' "Great Army" was at home in the camp. Then came the army from London and put Hasten's army to flight and stormed the fortress, and took all that was within it, as well the property as the women and the children, and carried the whole to London; and all the ships, they either broke in pieces or carried to London, or Rochester.

And they brought the wife of Hasten and his two sons to the king, and he afterwards gave them back again, because, one was *his* godson and one Ethered's the Earl-dorman. But as soon as the wife and sons were given back, Hæsten repaired the Shoebury fortress. The armies of Hæsten after the flight from Bemfleet, drew together again, at Shoebury in Essex, and there constructed a fortress. After which they went up the Thames, to the Severn; where, having been beaten and dispersed again, they returned to Essex. It is not clear where they went, apparently to Mersey Island, though, probably Shoebury was not quite abandoned.

At the time mentioned, in 894, the coast was different to what it now is. The camp by its own shewing was an inland camp. I mean that the ditch did not then impinge upon the sea. Had such been the case it could not but have happened that the muddy sea water would have invaded it, the bottom being only now about 3 ft. above high water mark which would certainly have been washed by high tides and in stormy weather, but there is no evidence of this in the section by the sea or in my excavation; and, moreover, the muddy water would have left a sediment, and none of the well-known mud of that coast was found, nor shells.

Besides this, in accordance with the general mode of fortification at that time both by Danes and Saxons, the camp was an irregular kind of square in form, and it will be seen by the plan that if the present lines be carried round, enclosing about as much more land or sea as remains still; the coast must have considerably extended

eastward. The waste of the coast here during the last thousand years cannot have been less, and was probably more than half-a-mile. I should feel within reason if I said a mile full. Again, there is a road here along the sands from Foulness to Wakering Stairs which probably represents an ancient coast road now gone to sea. This road which runs about a mile from the present land, some sixty or seventy years ago appears to have extended to Shoebury, though it is now obliterated. This is somewhat interesting though no proof of date, for the road may have been a road situated well inshore at the time of the Romans' occupation of the site of the camp. But the wear of the coast here must have been much greater than there is any need to doubt will allow of the assumption that the camp was well inland.

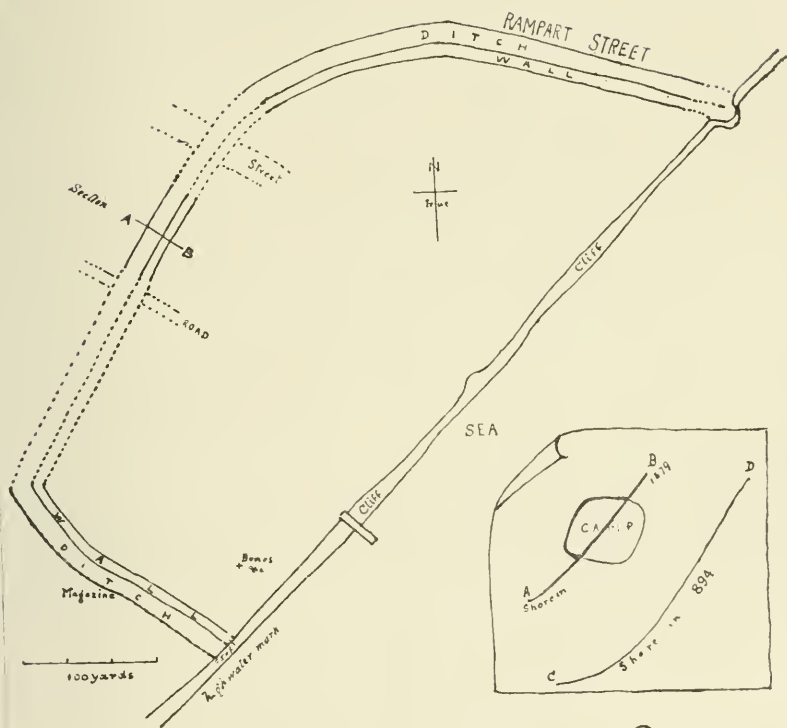
The outline is irregular, seemingly constructed in short stretches of nearly straight lines joined by angles which are very obtuse ; an evidence of haste, though of method, in construction. The dimensions of the camp wall are, a ditch 40 ft. wide and 8 to 9 ft. deep, of which at least in one place about 2 ft. have to be subtracted for a kind of step on the inner side, and one third the width of the ditch (vide section). The ditch was half filled with earth, part of which must have fallen from the bank. The land which is very level, had been raised for a bank to the height of 12 ft. ; on the inner side, the ground was 3 ft. higher than outside the ditch—gradually sloping away—some of this may have been the result of degradation of the bank, but some may be considered as intentional.

The area enclosed by the camp was apparently about one-third of a square mile, perhaps more ; from the inclination of the walls, which are away from each other at the intersection of the beach, the widest part has gone to sea, it may be inferred.

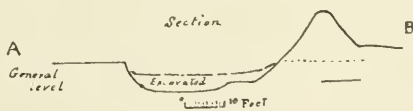
The top of the cliffs here is about 12 to 13 ft. above high water mark. They are of quaternary sand and very loose, so that the ditch could not have held water, as the whole area is much of the same as to level and quality.

Roman remains have been found in the district, outside and inside the camp graves have been found at the southern extremity close to the sea, from which a gold coin of Probus got into the possession of a man who still

SHOEBURY CAMP, ESSEX.



Surveyed Sep 1879
by F.C. Soutwell



it ten years ago still. I was told, also, a ring was found. Pottery and bones of the same age are not scarce. Just outside the camp a stone faced well of hexagonal form was discovered of Roman make.

Great quantities of bones were found, more especially near the sea, which was once the middle of the area; nothing of Teutonic art has been found I believe, which is well in accordance with the story told by the *Saxon Chronicle*.

The outlook from these parts is dreary and is only now noted for long range practice, and the site of the deposit of Metropolitan Sewage. Formerly, according to tales and tradition, a city stood somewhere on the Maplin sands; but the name of Maplin is without a meaning or history now. Shoebury has been suggested to mean a horse-shoe shaped burg, but this, though applicable now-a-days was not so at its foundation, and no plausible suggestion is now possible. The area of the camp is covered with Government buildings and ranges, and for some distance around it. Since the railway has been carried there, great changes have happened, and the place is populous to a surprising extent, for a spot so out of the world.

In making this plan I was very kindly assisted by the officer commanding the station. In the little sketch appended to the plan shewing the probable shore line in A.D. 894, the scale may approximately be seen by comparing the small outline of the camp with the larger one.

Original Document.

Communicated by J. BAIN, F.S.A. (Scot.)

The following paper is in the handwriting of the Earl of Hertford (afterwards the Protector Somerset.) Though without date, it was evidently drawn up by him at Alnwick just before his return from the Border at the end of November or beginning of December, 1542, when he was succeeded as lord warden by John Dudley, Viscount Lisle (afterwards Duke of Northumberland.) Hertford had been ordered by the Privy Council to bring back with him a memorandum of the state of affairs on the Borders for the information of Henry VIII., and this paper is the result of his labour. Among other notes of interest in it may be remarked those as to digging coal at Alnwick, and appropriating the timber of the "abbay besid Anwik," to repair the castle. The Percys were then under forfeiture, their castle was in Henry's hands, and for a long period was the head quarters of the Warden of the Marches. There is an abbreviate of this paper drawn up by a clerk from Hertford's rough draft. Both of these documents are in the collections of the Marquis of Bath at Longleat, by whose kind permission the former is now printed for the first time.

[MEMORANDA ON THE BORDERS BY THE EARL OF HERTFORD.]

For the pencioners to be dischargit.

For the intellyens betwene them men of Northumb^r and Skots.

For the comyng in of the Skots for pouarti and what shal be don with them—and to show the causes whey the proclimacion is stayde.

Item Tyndall and Ridesdal suferith the Skots to cum throw them and rob the Kyngs subiets and summe tyme cumme with them.

Item rich mens goode beth on touchid and onspoyld and the pore mēn that dwellyth wthine them robid and spoilyd.

Item the faeion of the takyng of my priff.

Item that yf the Skot^e haue no lether owght of Ingeland they shall haue a gret lake.

Item cart whelis was wont to be bowght her for v^s which now be sould for xvj^s and all for that the borderar^e sell them into Skotland.

Item that lether be restrainid to be sould in Skotland.

Item timbar and mile stones lykwis to be restrained.

Item the Shreve of Northumbarland ys not acuntabull, and bi resun that they be not amersid and pay the amersement^e tharof, and allso that stelyng is on ponishid ys a gret cause of the decay of the cuntri.

"My lorde tailebusshe to kepe Ridesdale from wulf and theifs.¹

Item the favar and intelligens betwene them of Northumb'land and Cukdall and Glendall which is bi resun the most part of ther frendes and kyn be takyn bi the Skote and otherwis.

Item the numbar of Skote in this cuntri and wher it be nesesari to advoid them.

Item the intelligens betwene the borderars and Skote.

Item the delyveri of presenars doth mich hurt.

Item the Tindale and Ridisdale er sufering the Skote to cum throw them and robe the kynges subiete.

Item the kynges subiete of Beaucastell dalle doth mari dayly with the Skote of Lythersdalle.

Item yf ordar be not taken for the diging of see colle here, the kynges wode will be distroide within a yeire and for lak of feuell the inabitans of this towne of Anwik shall be drevyn to forsak hit, which will be not only a gret losse to the kynges mate reueneus but all so lose to the contre.

Item to spek w^t the shanselar of the agmentacion for to give streyght commandement to the oficare that those somate (?) and bemes which be att the abbay besid Anwik to be safli kept and housid for the reparacion of the kynges mate castell of Anwike.

The state of Wark w^t the captenes.

Item for not carieng owght of Ingeland woud timb^r and millestone shall hindar Skotland.

Item the Skote did fere that the navi should have mad a belwark hon the roke or iland cauld the Linch,² which should be the distrucceon of Edunborow and Light, for that no shep shuld cum in nor owght.

Item in Northumbarland ther be mani jentellmen of small land and othere that favorith Tindale and Ridesdale so that they robe the good subjecte hoo dar not for fere of ther lyves lay eni thing to ther charg and all sich robris ys leyd that it ys the Skote.

Item ther is likewis nich intelliens betwene them and the Skote soo that no entrepris can be donne withowgh knowleg.

Item the hede men of the cuntre will have his shepard and hirdman to be a Skot, bi reasun ther of ther good goith in safte and por mens everi day stolen.

Item those shepardes and hirdis men both good spies to the Skote which doth mich hurt.

Item bi reason that the Skotes coren is soo burnid and consumid and they bi resun thereof in sich miseri that yf spedi remedi be ministerid and some terrar showeed unto them that shal cum in to this reme I think or it be long ther will be mani Skote cumme into this reme.

Item the number of Skote dwelling here and what the cuntres answer is to it.

Item to declar the facion of the overthrow of the Skote.³

⁴Item the workes of Hull and the departure of the ships.

Item of conference with the Lorde Maxwell.

In Sir John Thynne's handwriting.

² Inch Keith, opposite the port of Leith.

³ i.e., at Solway Moss.

⁴ In Sir J. Thynne's writing.

Proceedings at Meetings of the Royal Archaeological Institute.

November 7, 1889.

T. H. BAYLIS, Esq., Q.C., in the Chair.

Mrs. TIRARD read a paper on "The Great Sphinx of Egypt, Ideas of the Sphinx in the ancient world." The Chairman, Mr. R. S. POOLE and others took part in the discussion which followed. Mrs. TIRARD's paper is printed at p. 28.

Mr. F. C. J. SPURRELL read a paper, by the Rev. G. I. CHESTER, on "Sculptures of Oriental design at Bradwardine and Moccas, Herefordshire." Professor WESTWOOD, Mr. J. T. MICKLETHWAITE, and Mr. C. E. KEYSER took part, with others, in the discussion that followed, and by which it appeared that the Oriental character of sculptures in Herefordshire and Gloucestershire was recognised. Mr. CHESTER's paper will appear in a future *Journal*.

The Rev. J. HIRST read a paper on "The Location and Treatment of the Blessed Eucharist in Mediæval Churches." We are indebted to Mr. HIRST for the following abstract of his paper:—

"On the recent visit of the Institute to Tunstead Church, Norfolk, many of the members were puzzled by the stone platform, some three feet wide, running right across the chancel, immediately behind the altar, and approached, moreover, by massive stone stairs. The opinion was hazarded by some members that this stone platform may have been used for the exhibition of the consecrated Host to the people for adoration. The present writer expressed his opinion that such a rite of exposition of the Blessed Eucharist, though of comparatively modern institution, might perhaps have taken place in England during the period when the Perpendicular style of architecture was in vogue, but he scarcely thought that it could have become common in this country prior to the Reformation. He has therefore been led to inquire into the probable date of the introduction of this rite into the Church services of Western Christendom, and the paper now offered is the result.

"That it was not held to be inherently unbecoming to look with the naked eye on the consecrated Host could easily be argued from the custom common amongst the early Christians of carrying the Blessed Eucharist with them to their homes, as also from the immemorial rite of the elevation of the Host in the Mass, as prescribed in the most ancient Grecian liturgies.

"The reservation of the Sacred Species in golden doves and towers, placed upon the altar in churches, which can be traced right away from the time of St. Basil in the fourth century, must easily have led to a desire so natural to believers of doing honour to the consecrated Host, and suggested to them the idea of having recourse to it as to a palladium in time of distress and danger. Hence arose the custom of carrying the Sacred Host with them on a journey, suspended from the neck of man or horse, or hung in a box on the mast of a ship. This custom of carrying the Blessed Eucharist on a journey is as old as the time of St. Ambrose, and is mentioned in the dialogues of St. Gregory, and in Surius's Life of St. Birinus, first Bishop of Dorchester.

"The Blessed Eucharist, however, does not appear to have been carried in solemn procession, at least in this country, before the Norman Conquest; for though a procession took place on Palm Sunday, as part of the Church service introduced into England from Rome by St. Augustine, neither St. Aldhelm or Alcuin, who mention this ceremony, say anything of the consecrated Host being carried in it. This latter custom is first recorded in the directory drawn up by Lanfranc for the Abbey of Bec, which, says Matthew Paris, soon became adopted in the larger Benedictine abbeys in England. But when, in the thirteenth century, the Feast of Corpus Christi was instituted for the express purpose of doing special honour to the Blessed Sacrament, it is very probable together with the solemn procession which then became common on that day and throughout the Octave, was introduced the rite of praying or adoring before the Sacred Host exposed amid lights and flowers upon the altar, which is, in substance, the rite of Exposition. From this rite to that of the modern Benediction, which appears to have been first made a popular evening devotion by M. Olier, founder of St. Sulpice, in Paris, the transition was simple and natural, especially as we find in the old Hereford Missal a prayer for blessing the people with the empty chalice on the principal feasts and doubles of the year. Moreover, as has been suggested by the Rev. T. E. Bridgett, what more natural than that on the priest's bringing back the Holy Eucharist from a sick call, or on carrying it to the sick, when asked for a blessing, he should have given it with the Pyx. Thus the rise of Benediction may have had a spontaneous and gradual growth, unnoticed at the time, but strongly commending itself to public favour. That the rite of Exposition of the Blessed Sacrament was known in mediæval times, whether temporarily in procession, or more permanently upon the altar, is proved by the undoubted existence of monstrances that even at that early date must have been used for the purpose. Such Eucharistic monstrances are found depicted in miniature initials in graduals and missals as early as 1374; and monstrances in which the Host was seen through an aperture at the side are mentioned as having existed in various places in the course of the fifteenth century. Examples of monstrances 'to ber in Godde's Body with cristall,' are enumerated by Father Bridgett as found in ancient English inventories of 1427, 1447, etc.; and in 1375, Lord Despenser is recorded to have left by will to Tewkesbury Abbey a vessel wherein to put the Body of Christ on Corpus Christi Day, which was given him by the King of France. ('History of the Holy Eucharist in Great Britain,' vol. ii., pp. 98-102.) Thus can be traced from the earliest known rites, the gradual and natural development of the latest ritual practices."

Mr. HIRST's paper was illustrated by an engraving from Allatius of a Greek deacon carrying the Host for the Mass of the Presanctified in Lent, from the so-called altar of Preposition to the high altar, in a dish covered with a veil upon his head: and of a remarkable miniature forming the initial letter D, one inch in height, to be found in the Mass of the Blessed Sacrament, in a MS. vellum Missal, known to have been written in 1374, and presented to a Benedictine monastery in France by John, Duke of Berry, in 1408. In this latter engraving is represented a bishop, accompanied by two acolytes, who is carrying the Blessed Sacrament in a golden tower, surmounted by a spire and pierced by a quatrefoil aperture occupying the full width of the circular tower, through which the Sacred Host is visible. From the fact of this representation appearing in the Mass for Corpus Christi it is evident that there was here a design to show the way in which the Blessed Sacrament was carried in procession in that day.

Votes of thanks were returned to authors of these papers.

Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By Mrs. TIRARD.—A large collection of diagrams.

By Mr. SPURRELL.—A photograph of a Roman coffin, found at Dartford.

December 5, 1889.

The Rev. F. SPURRELL in the chair.

Mr. FLINDERS PETRIE sent some notes which were read by Mr. F. C. J. SPURRELL, on Stone Implements lately brought by him from Kahun, Egypt.

The derivation of the symbols of hieroglyphs from these implements was described, showing that very little change from the earliest known symbolic forms to the implements in use 2600 B.C. had occurred. Special notice was made of the sickle, tracing its development from the jaw of an animal, whose teeth had been removed and replaced by flint flakes, to an instrument made of wood, with improvements in shape and more regular arrangement of the stone cutting edge, through the bronze forms, to iron.

Mr. J. E. BALE communicated a paper on the ancient Norman font in Toftrees Church, Norfolk. The font in plan is square; the bowl is supported by five short pillars, the centre one containing the drain pipe. The panels of the bowl are all elaborately carved with different designs. At three of the upper corners are sculptures representing lambs' heads, and at the fourth the head of a wolf in sheep's clothing. Mr. Bale contended that the Anglo-Celtic identity of the work was obvious. This paper will appear in a future *Journal*.

Votes of thanks were returned to Mr. Petrie and Mr. Bale.

Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By Mr. PETRIE.—Stone Implements from Egypt.

By Mr. BALE.—Drawings of font at Toftrees.

Notices of Archaeological Publications.

A HISTORY OF COGGESHALL, IN ESSEX, with an account of its Church, Abbey, Manors, Ancient Houses, &c. By GEO. FRED. BEAUMONT. Coggeshall: E. Potter, Market End, 1890.

We called attention in a former *Journal* (Vol. xlv., p. 482) to the high value of the little chapel at Coggeshall, and, although the appeal which we then supported has not resulted as favourably as could be wished, it is satisfactory to know that sufficient interest has been awakened, mainly by Mr. Beaumont's efforts, to save, at least for the present, this fragment of Coggeshall Abbey. We now gladly welcome Mr. Beaumont's little book because we know him to be a capable man, and, it having often been our fate to take up a popular history of a place and not to find at once the very and only thing we wanted, it is a satisfaction to have a local history which is arranged in an orderly and methodical manner, is well printed, and, above all, capitally indexed—an index being the rock upon which so many authors split. We may specially mention one chapter—that which treats of ancient houses, field names, roads, bridges, &c., as particularly interesting and well done, and the same remark applies to that entitled "Fairs, Customs, Folk-Lore, and Miscellaneous."


Among the illustrations the most notable is one of the interior of the restored church. This must have been, in the old days, a magnificent structure, built solely by the clothworkers, and not as Mr. H. W. King supposes, partly by them and "the Cistercian fathers," who, in fact, are more likely to have pulled it down if they could, and appropriated its tithes.

No doubt the present restored church is a worthy monument of the zeal and generosity of the inhabitants, and it probably is well warmed, and serves its purpose better than formerly. But, speaking from an antiquarian point of view, and judging from the illustration before us, it is now no longer an old church, and a great deal must have been taken away and a good deal introduced that in these days someone would have fought for or against; in fact, it was restored too soon, and in the ruthless period of 1840-70. The interior is cold and barren, there are, of course, no screens, and it is not saved by the inevitable reredos, and the very "wooden" seats. We notice the brass jug on the base of the font, in its usual truly "gothic" hideousness. Is not this a mere whim of the "art manufacturers" which is neither sanctioned or ordered by Rubric, or Constitutions and Canons Ecclesiastical?

WESTMORLAND CHURCH NOTES being the Heraldry, Epitaphs and other Inscriptions in the thirty two Ancient Parish Churches and Churchyards of that County. Collected and arranged by EDWARD BELLASIS, Lancaster Herald, vol. II. T. Wilson, Highgate, Kendal. Octavo pages, 340.

This is the second half of this very important work, and includes, the parish church and churchyards of such places as Kendal, Kirkby Lonsdale, Kirkby Stephen, Lowther and Windermere. Under Lowther come a large number of monuments and hatchments of the noble family of that name, which give much pedigree and heraldic information. By the way, a scientific pedigree of this family is much wanted, and it is to be hoped that some local genealogist will take the matter in hand; we fancy the editor of the local societies' Transactions would have no difficulty in bringing forward a competent person who has already accumulated considerable material. The monumental inscriptions at Kendal are numerous, and in some instances record persons of more than local distinction. We regret to read that "many stones with inscriptions were buried some time since, following a call to owners (partially responded to), to help in the task of putting the churchyard in order." Can the Chancellor of the diocese have known of, or sanctioned such a proceeding? Mr. Bellasis also records that at Musgrave, "many old tombstones were utilized as "throughs" when the church was rebuilt, in "45."

The puzzles presented by the heraldry in the famous window at Windermere, and on the Wharton tombs at Kirkby Stephen are most carefully worked out, as indeed it is in every case, a fact which makes us regret the book has no heraldic index, which would have gone a long way towards forming "an Ordinary of Arms" for the county of Westmorland.



Archaeological Journal.

JUNE, 1890.

BURTON CHURCH, SUSSEX.

By J. L. ANDRÉ.

The parish of Burton, in Sussex, is chiefly included in the park attached to the manor house, and is so thinly populated that in 1821 it contained only one house—the mansion, and fourteen inhabitants. Since then the population has much increased, though still, I believe, under one hundred souls, and of the thirty parishes in England bearing the name of Burton, there is only one with fewer inhabitants, that of West Burton, Notts. As in a few other Sussex parishes there are some detached portions, one of which is as far off as South Bersted, and part of the land belonged to the nunnery of Godstow, in Oxfordshire.

In Domesday Book the parish is designated Botechitone, and it is curious to observe that it is spelt in precisely the same way in the will of John Goring, which was made shortly before his death, in 1521. In the eleventh century document mention is made of one mill, which is no doubt identical, as to site, with the present water mill, and the extensive and beautiful fish-ponds are also stated as then existing.² Besides the ancient use of the water power in connection with the mill, it was likewise applied afterwards to aid the iron

¹ Read at the Monthly Meeting of the Institute January 9th, 1890.

² The following is the account of Burton as recorded in Domesday Book. "Robertus tenet de comite BOTECHITONE et Hamelinus de eo. Ulmer | tenuit de rege E. pro ij^{bus} Maneriis in alodium Tunc et modo se defendebat pro V hidis | Terra est V carucarum. In domi-

nio sunt ij^x et viij villani et iij bordarii cum ij | carucis Ibi ij servi et j molinus de xj | solidis. Piscaria de cctis lxxx^{octoginta} | et iiij acra prati et silva ij porcorum T.R.E. et post valuit xl solidos, Modo c solidos." Domesday Book in relation to the County of Sussex. p. 64.

industry, once so extensive in Sussex, as there is a record of the existence of a "fiorge or iron mill," at Burton, near Petworth, in 1653.

The manor has descended from the Dawtreys, who appear to be the earliest known possessors, successively to the families of St. John, Dyke, Goring, and Biddulph, each of the changes of ownership having been made by marriages with heiresses. By the marriage of Eva Dawtrey, who died in 1354, the estate passed to Sir Edward St. John, whose daughter Elizabeth, similarly carried it to Henry Dyke; and his daughter Constantia, by her union with John Goring, of Burton, conveyed it to the Gorings, in whose possession it continued for more than two centuries, finally becoming the property of the Biddulphs by the marriage of Ann Goring with Richard Biddulph, of Staffordshire.

The manor house, standing in the midst of the beautiful well-wooded park, was re-built in the reign of Elizabeth, probably late in the sixteenth century, as the architecture of the structure appears to have been the rich semi-classic style, of which there were so many examples in Sussex, as at Bolnbrook, Brambletye, Slaugham, and elsewhere. Horsfield gives an engraving of the principal entrance, which comprised a rather insignificant doorway, over which was a rich panel with the Goring arms, crest, and mantling, and a three light window; both were flanked by pilasters with elaborate corbels and bases, the whole being crowned by a decorative frieze.² The Elizabethan erection was destroyed by fire about the year 1756, when it appears "many valuable portraits of the Goring family by the early masters" were destroyed.³ The house was again re-built with much splendour by Richard Biddulph, but in its turn was ruined in the same manner, and finally re-erected in 1826. The present building is a plain unadorned structure, but is said to contain a brass staircase, brought from another Sussex mansion, the grand dwelling at Michelgrove, when it was pulled down in 1826.

From Mr. Hussey's *Churches of Kent, Sussex, and Surrey*, we learn that although no church or chapel is mentioned in Domesday Book, as existing at Burton, the

¹ See *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, vol. xviii, p. 16.

² Horsfield, vol. ii, p. 172.

³ Dallaway, *Arundel Rape*, vol. ii, 283.

name occurs in the record of the Taxation of Pope Nicholas IV, in 1291, showing that there was an ecclesiastical building at that date, and there is also mention of such an edifice in the Nonæ Roll compiled about 1341 in the reign of Edward III.¹ The benefice was consolidated with that of Coates, an adjoining parish, in 1520, during the episcopate of Bishop Sherburn, of Chichester.² The church was partly rebuilt and repaired by an injunction from Archbishop Juxon in 1636. Horsfield, whose *History of Sussex*, was issued in 1835, states that no service had then been performed for many years, and Hussey, whose book was published in 1852 makes the same statement, which, however, will not apply at the present time, but the edifice, standing as it does completely buried in trees, was so little known in the early part of this century as to give rise to a Sussex joke, that, no one knew there was a church at Burton till the hounds of a hunting party stumbled upon it. Tree-bordered churchyards are not common in Sussex, though numerous instances may be met with in Essex. Such trees were not only planted for ornament, but for use, and there was "an act passed temp. Edward I, 1307 (entitled "*Ne rector prosternat arbores in cemeterio*") which decrees that such trees were church property, and do not belong to the parishioners, but are under the priest's care, and the act further says, "and yet seeing these trees are often planted to defend the force of the wind from hurting of the church, they are only to be felled when the church requires needful reparations when they may be used for such a purpose to help the parishioners but are not ordered to be so."³ The churchyard is now of very limited extent and contains only one or two graves on the south side. The dedication of the church is unknown, and the one bell bears no inscription. The edifice comprises a nave measuring internally 26 ft. by 14 ft. 6 in., and a chancel 13 ft. 8 in. by 11 ft. 8 in. These dimensions show how small the entire building is. Over the west end is erected a short stone-capped bell-turret carried on a circular seventeenth century arch; there are plain hollow chamfered west and south doorways, and the

¹ See Hussey, p. 210.

² Dallaway, p. 234.

³ Mr. Robertson Blaine, in "Athenæum," No. 1963, June 10, 1865.

windows are all more or less mutilated Third-Pointed ones of two lights each. The interior is equally unattractive as regards the structural features; there is no chancel arch, and the nave roof is a plain king-post one ceiled between the principals, whilst that of the chancel is modern. The font a tub-shaped mass, has a simple roll round the upper edge, and as it shows traces of the staples by which the lid was fastened, is probably of Norman date. There is a very small and perfectly plain piscina in the chancel, and some good linen-fold panels, worked up into more recent open seats, remain in the nave. The Canon of 1603, ordering that every church should have a pulpit has been disregarded at Burton, as it possesses none whatever.¹ All these details offer but little that is attractive to the antiquary, but there are three features which redeem Burton from being a most common-place parish church, these are the rood screen and loft, a fragment of wall-painting, and the sepulchral monuments.

Chancel-screens are held to be somewhat rare in Sussex, though there are many excellent examples, including decorated ones at S. Mary's Hospital, Chichester, and Etchingham, whilst the whole of the chancel parcloles at Eastbourne are of that period. There is also a fine perpendicular screen now hidden in the belfry at Ardingly. The example at Burton is a simple Third Pointed one, of late fifteenth century date, with plain fenestrations of five-foiled openings supermullioned. Still it is an interesting example as it retains its original polychromatic decorations, and very little painted wood-work is to be met with in this part of England; the only other Sussex specimen of painting on screen work that I have found being at Thakeham, where the panels had

¹ In Bishop Ridley's Visitation Articles for the Diocese of London, in 1550, one of the enquiries is "Whether your church be kept in due and lawful reparation, and whether there be a comely pulpit set up in the same"; and S. Charles Borromeo, who died in 1584, in his "Instructions on Ecclesiastical Building," drawn up for the Church of Milan, says that in every parochial church "where an ambo cannot be erected for the recital of the Gospel, or for religious preaching, a pulpit constructed altogether

of wooden boards (which should be strong and of proper work and form) should be erected on the Gospel side as before (i.e. in the case where an ambo was practicable) and serve for the purpose of reading the Gospel and of religious preaching." p. 90. ed. Dolman, 1857. These extracts show that even before the seventeenth century, the pulpit was considered a necessary fitting in many churches, not only in England but on the Continent.

a powdering of roses. Doubtless the Sussex screens once glowed with gilding and colours, as was the case at Brighton, and at Horsham, where the rood-screen remained till 1826. Brighton still has the loft over the screen, and there is a modern restoration of one at Fletching. Both of these have the gallery carried on fan-groining, but at Burton the construction is the same as that shown at Sherringham, Norfolk, the floor in each case being supported equally by the cornice of the screen, and by a girder at some distance to the west of it; the latter beam having curved and spandrelled braces at the ends, though at Burton only one of these remains, that on the north side.¹ Rood-lofts, constructed as at Burton and Sherringham, appear to be much less numerous than those where the gallery is erected over fan-groining, the reason probably being that when the roods and lofts, but not the screens, were ordered to be destroyed at the Reformation, the destruction of a groined rood-loft would have involved the demolition of the entire upper part of the enclosure itself; whilst in the other case the floor and its wooden supports could be removed without necessitating the mutilation of the screen.

In the north wall of the nave has been a square-headed Third Pointed window, of which the double chamfered jambs and moulded labels remain, though the tracery has gone, there being now only a plain upright mullion, dividing the window-way into two lights. Inside, on the east splay of the window recess, is a remarkable example of painted work; it has faded very much, but still shows clearly a female figure, tied head-downwards to a saltire cross ragulée, a mass of deep red hair hangs from the head, and the countenance is that of a round-faced young woman. Some lines of colour and other portions of the design are too indistinct for identification. The absence of a nimbus from the effigy might be considered to imply that no saintly martyrdom was here intended to be represented and I am unaware of any record of the death of a female saint by this singular method of crucifixion. Yet that the effigy is of a martyr seems certain from the letter S. below the figure followed by another capital and other

¹ A piece of battlemented cornice-work now fixed to the west end of the church, may have been part of the rood-beam.

characters too faded to be deciphered, but evidently the name of the female depicted.¹ There is no mention of this very remarkable picture in the *S. Kensington List of Buildings*, &c., nor have I met with any notice of it elsewhere. Below the figure is a band of diaper work much resembling the so-called "box pattern," which was a great favourite for patchwork, and Berlin wool embroidery some forty years ago.

At the time of the repairs in 1636 the walls of the nave were decorated with several texts in ornamental borders, and at the same date a large and elaborate representation of the Royal Arms was placed over the south doorway; it bears the words "Christo auspice regno" beneath the scutcheon; a motto which appears frequently on the coins of Charles I.

In the south wall of the chancel is a recessed and canopied tomb of fifteenth century date, the opening having a four-centred arch over which is an ogee canopy enclosing a plain shield; the label is somewhat coarsely crocketed and finialled, but there are flanking pinnacles of better execution. The arch is only 3 ft. 11 in. wide, and covers the mutilated effigy of a lady, who wears a kind of mitred head-dress, the liripipe, or tippet of which is seen folded up on the cushion supporting the head of the figure. The gown is open in front and has wide lappets at the neck, whilst at the lady's feet has been the representation of a dog. The statuette is only 3 ft. 6 in. in length and 11 in. in width and I conjecture that the smallness of the tomb and its effigy was occasioned by the

¹ A rough analysis of the "passions" of the female martyr saints recorded in Alban Butler's "Lives," furnishes the following results; though in many cases the tortures endured by the martyrs were so numerous and lingering, that it is difficult to fix upon the precise cause of death.

BEHEADED.—S. S. Agnes, Basilisa, Cantinilla, Catharine, Cecilia, Crispina, Denysa, Faith, Felicitas, Flora and Mary, Januana, Juliana, Justina, Margaret (of Antioch), Manila and Alodia, Osyth, Regina and her companions Rufina and Secunda, Soteris, Theodora, and Winifride.

BURNT ALIVE.—S. S. Agape and companions, Afra and Digna, Anastania, Domitilla, Eunonia, Eutropia, Eulalia,

Euphronia, Flavia, Julitta, Theo, and Valentina; S. Victoria was suspended over a fire.

CRUCIFIED.—On the rack, &c. S. S. Eulalia (of Barcelona), and Julia; torn on rack, Justa and Theodosia; torn with hooks S. Engratis.

DROWNED.—S. S. Martha (of Persia), Symphorosa, Theodora and companions; S. Potansiana smothered in a cauldron of melted pitch.

STABBED.—S. S. Anysia and Victoria. STONED.—S. Theodota.

STRANGLER.—S. S. Beatrice, and Rufina.

TORN BY BEASTS.—S. S. Blandina, Marciana, Thecla.

WHIPPED TO DEATH. S. Bibiana.

diminutive size of the chancel in which they are placed. Sussex is somewhat remarkable for its small sepulchral memorials, there is the well-known cross-legged effigy of a knight at Horstead Keynes, and at Fletching is a singular cross slab only 2 ft. 6 in. long by 7½ in. in its widest part, whilst at Cocking, not far from Burton, is a recessed tomb of nearly the same size as at the latter place; it has an ogee shaped, and trefoiled arch with label and finial, it has also had side pinnacles as in the Burton example, but only one of which remains.

In the south wall of the nave is another recessed monument, it is of late Perpendicular work, and has a flat canopy over a plain high tomb; the inscription has perished, but at the back of the recess remains the kneeling figure of a man in plate armour, from which proceeds a label inscribed "*Delicta juventut(is) mee et ignorancias meas ne memineris dne.*" Four scutcheons of arms remain at the angles of the slab and the monument is that of John Goring, who died in 1521, and by his will directed that a tomb should be made for him with the sentence from the Psalms which I have just quoted, written upon it. He bequeathed to the priory of Hardham, a religious house in the neighbourhood, 40s. for sixty masses and solemn dirge, and he directed his "evidences" to be kept in that priory until his son, then a minor, should come of age. He left 40s. to the prior of Durford, likewise a religious house in the vicinity of Burton, and to the monastery of Sion 60s. To the church at Botechitone he bequeathed a chalice worth 26s., a banner cloth of 10s. value, and two kine to maintain a light before the rood. To his four daughters a legacy of £400. John Goring, the above testator, by his marriage with Constantia Dyke, brought the manor of Burton into the possession of the Gorings, as previously mentioned.

Opposite the last described tomb is another, which projects into the nave; it has a canopy of rich but debased character, and designed in the half-Classic, half-Gothic style, of which Sussex has so many examples, the most elaborate one, probably, being the chantry of the De La Warr's at Boxgrove. At the back of the monument have been kneeling figures of a knight and lady, both of whom were habited in tabards; the male effigy has gone, but

fortunately the other remains, and is probably unique amongst our English brasses, as it shows a female in an armorial garment belonging to the male sex, instead of being habited in the usual heraldic mantle. Besides the arms on the lady's tabard there are four shields displaying those of the Gorings and their family alliances, all of which retain their colours in a well preserved state. Various small effigies now lost, and several inscriptions, fill in the rest of the slab at the back of the tomb, and, from the irregular manner in which they occur, it is probable that they are not in their original places. At the risk of being somewhat tedious I propose to quote these writings, and then enter upon a few remarks upon each, on the persons mentioned therein, and on some of their descendants.

Immediately above a central shield and the effigy of the lady are two plates of unequal size, on the largest of which is written—

O God forget my Synne^s Impute
them not to me but forgeue me for thy
dere sone Jesus Christe sake & Judge
me accordinge vnto thy Inscrutable
mercy for yf we saye yt we have no synne
we deceaue o^rselves and theris no truth in vs.

In a line with this is another plate, inscribed—

I have Geven deligent care vnto the and
nowe I see the wyth myn eyes Wherfor
I geue myne owne selfe the blame; and
take Repentance in the duste and Ashes.

Under the missing figure of the kneeling knight there was, till within a few years since, the following, which has now disappeared :—

Syr Wyllm Gorynge Knight one of y^e Gen
tlmen of y^e preuie chamber to kyng Edward
the Syxte deceassed the xviii daye of March
An^o 1553 and lyeth here Intombed

Beneath the lady is a plate bearing these words—

Elizabeth goringe wife of y^e same Sr Willim
& daught of John Couert of Slaugham dyed y^e
xvi. of Novebe 1558 and lyeth here itombed.

Another plate bears the following—

Henry Goringe sonne & heyre of y^e same Sr
Willim & Elisabeth nowe lyuing & married
to dorethe one of y^e daught & heyres of
Willim Everad Esquire dyed & hath Issue by
her lyuing Willim Edward : barbare & Elizabeth.

Beneath the epitaph to Dame Goring is a plate with—

Anne delalind daughter of y^e same syr Willim &
Elizabeth late the wyfe of syr George delalind
of y^e Coñtye of dorset and nowe wife to Fraunc^{es}
browne Esquir brother to y^e Viscount Montague.

A plate placed perpendicularly is inscribed—

Robert Goringe decessed one other soñe of
Syr Willim and Elizabeth latly married to
mary daughter of Thomas Onley Esquire ha
vyng Issue by her now lyving Elizabeth.

And lastly there is an inscription as follows—

Thomas Edward & Custance: childre of the
same: Willim & Elizabeth depted in ther infancy &
one other dyed afore it had Receved christedom.

The two religious inscriptions, written at a time when the Reformation was in progress, but the result as yet uncertain, would suggest from the Scriptural phraseology employed, that they were placed upon the tomb to ensure its respect by either of the two contending parties, the Protestant or the Catholic, as the sentiments conveyed in them would not offend the opinions of either body.¹

The Sir William Goring commemorated in the inscription now missing, was the son and heir of John Goring, whose monument has just been described. At the dissolution of the monasteries the lands at Burton held by Godstow Nunnery were given to him, and likewise the landed property belonging to Hardham Priory “as heir to the founder.”² The Dawtreys are believed to have founded the house at Hardham, and to which their successors at Burton, the St. Johns and Gorings, were considerable benefactors.

¹ The expression “take Repentance,” for becoming penitent, was a sixteenth century phrase, thus Fabian tells us that Chilperie on one occasion “toke great repentance,” Fabian’s Chronicle, p. 89., ed. Ellis, 1811.

² Sir William Goring was “heir to the founder” of Hardham Priory from having inherited the estates of Sir William Dawtreys, who made the foundation of that monastery in the reign of Henry II. A good instance of the practice of considering the successors of a founder as entitled to all the honour due to the original benefactor, is shown in the following extract from a document bearing date 1533, and to which the Abbot and his brethren at Easby Abbey, Yorkshire, put their common seal. It

states that Abbot Robert, “received the day of the making hereof, Rt. Hon. John Lord Scrope of Bolton as our veray truee and undoubted founder of our said Monasterye, with procession and all other solemn priuitie and ceremonie as doth apperteyne and belong thereunto, according as our predecessors have heretofore at all times receyvede his noble ancestoyrs as founders of the sayme.” The document proceeds to say that Lord Scrope was entitled to the share in their prayers and good works, which “apperteyne and belonge unto the just title and right of a founder and as haith bene accustomed and done by our predecessors unto his auncestors our founders heretofore.” Quoted in Ass. Arch. Soc., Rep. vol. ii. (1852—1853), p. 326.

Henry Goring, recorded in the next inscription as son and heir of Sir William, was born in 1521, and died 15th December, 1594. He was high sheriff in the reign of Elizabeth, and in 1577, when that monarch contemplated visits to the country seats of Lord Montague, Lord Buckhurst, and Lord Arundel, she proposed to honour Mr. Henry Goring at Burton with a short stay at his house. The project was stopped by the plague,¹ and its abandonment was probably little regretted by Henry Goring, as he wrote a letter on the 7th of July, in the above year, to Sir William More, of Loseley, near Godalming, Surrey, as an old friend, and "hearing that the Queen has laid two nights at his house in Sussex," he asks how he is to entertain her, and "whether she brings her own stuff, beer, and other provisions or whether Sir William provided every part."² Henry Goring contributed one hundred pounds towards the fund raised in aid of the opposition to the Spanish Armada,³ and in the hands of his descendants Burton continued till it passed to the Biddulphs, as before mentioned; from him are also descended the Gorings of Wiston, who still own that manor. The inscription states that he married Dorothy, daughter of William Everard; his brother George, of whom I shall now speak, wedded Mary the eldest daughter of the same gentleman.

George, the second son of Sir William Goring, is not noticed in any of the inscriptions remaining, but he was destined to be the progenitor of two men who played important parts in the days of Charles I. This George Goring bore a son of the same name, who likewise had a son George, whom Charles created Lord Goring of Hurstpierpoint, in 1626, and afterwards Earl of Norwich. He appears to have been in the main a staunch Royalist, and the records of his daring and fortitude are such matters of history that no more need be said here respecting him, except to note the fact that by his precipitate action at Portsmouth, he caused the outbreak of the Civil war. He died in 1662.

The eldest son of the above-mentioned Earl of Norwich

¹ S. A. C., V. p. 192.

² S. A. C., V. p. 193.

³ List of "Names of nobility and gentry who contributed to the defence

of this country at the time of the Spanish Invasion in 1538." Quoted S. A. C. I., 32.

was named George, the fourth in direct succession. Like his father, he was a zealous supporter of Charles I, and resembled his sire in bravery, but was rash, unscrupulous, and dissolute. After a turbulent existence he died in the lifetime of his father, leaving no issue, and the earldom of Norwich, on the decease of the latter, passed to his son Charles, who died childless and the title became extinct.¹

Robert Goringe, "one other sone of Syr William," is stated in the inscription to have married a daughter of Thomas Onley, or Olney, Esq., and it is, perhaps, worth noting that the families of Goring and Onley have representatives in Sussex at the present day.²

The last writing on the tomb states that one other child "died afore it had Receved christedom," which is an unusual piece of information. Inscriptions in memory of chrysom children are fairly numerous, but hitherto I have not met with one recording that a child died without baptism.³

The Gorings originally came from the place of the same designation on the coast of Sussex, and the name occurs for the first time in a list of sheriffs in the reign of Edward IV. The patronymic has been spelt Goring, Goringe, or Gorringe; and the arms of the family, a red chevron and three annulets, or rings, on a white field, are said to contain a pun on the word Go-ring; the crest is a lion rampant regardant.

The house of Stuart was powerfully supported by many of the Sussex gentry, conspicuously so by the Ashburnhams, Carylls, Gages, and Gorings, though the fidelity of some members of the last-named family was occasionally of rather a doubtful character. A Sir William Goring of Burton was among the prisoners taken by Sir William

¹ A portrait of George Lord Goring, from a picture by Vandyke, is given in "Lodge's Portraits," it is accompanied by a Memoir in which the Author states that, "almost all writers who have mentioned either"—the Earl of Norwich, or his son George, have been betrayed "into error and confusion." "These Mistakes were," he continues, "perhaps easy. Both bore the same names and title, flourished at the same time and in similar characters; both were courtiers, wits, warriors, and loyalists. It was in morals only that they differed

and the disadvantage lay on the side of the son." Lodge's Portraits vol. iv. p.p. 313, 314.

² See Standard Jan. 14th, 1890. Law Report.

³ To "receive Christendom," was a sixteenth century variation of "being christened." Fabian for instance tells us that Augustine required of the Welsh Bishops that they should "geue christendome to the children in y^e manner y^t is vsed in y^e chyrehe of Rome." Chronicle, p. 96, ed. Ellis.

Waller at the siege of Arundel Castle in 1644, and also "Ensign Goringe, and gentleman Henry Goringe"¹ Colonel George Goring is mentioned in the catalogue of Royalist Compositions, published in 1655, as having compounded for his estates for a sum of £400, Henry Goring of Burton, Gentleman, for £250, and Henry Goring of Sullington for £40.² After the Restoration of Charles II the name of Henry Goringe occurs amongst those of the Sussex gentlemen intended to be knights of the proposed order of the Royal Oak, projected by that King, and he is stated therein to have had an estate of £2,000 per annum. Long after the second downfall of the Stuarts the Gorings were suspected of being their partisans, for in the diary of Thomas Marchant, published in the Vol. xxv of the *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, it is recorded under the date of June 26th, 1715, that "About this time there was a great talk that the Duke of Ormond, the great supporter of the Chevalier St. George, commonly called the Pretender, went off at Shoreham with Sir Henry Goring, Mr. Middleton, and one or two others." The Sir Henry Goring here mentioned was one of the Wiston branch of the family; he died in 1752, and was buried at Billingshurst, in Sussex, where he has a tomb inside the church, and where many members of the Goring family are interred.

A ledger in the chancel at Burton commemorates Sir William Goring, who died on February 29th, 1723, in his 65th year, and appears to have been the last of the Gorings buried in this church.

The Burrell MSS. mention an inscription in memory of Mary Goring, "the most deservedly beloved wife" of Sir Henry Goring, Bart., who died September 12th 1694; and also one for Ann Biddulph, "the most deservedly beloved wife" of Richard Biddulph, who changed this life for a better on 25th of October, 1679, ætatis 27. Requiescat in Pace."³

Probably a more unpretending little edifice than Burton Church does not exist, but I think that the internal features here described, the sepulchral monuments, and the associations connected with them, redeem it from being altogether devoid of interest, and that such interest is more than local.

¹ S. A. C., ix. 53, and V. 63 note.

² S. A. C., xix. 91.

³ Burrell, Add. MSS. 5699.

FURTHER DISCOVERIES AT THE ROMAN BATHS IN BATH, AND THE PROBABLE DATE OF THEIR FIRST FORMATION.

By the late REV. PREBENDARY SCARTH, M.A.

At the recent Meeting of the Archæological Institute, at Norwich, I exhibited plans on a large scale, and also a perspective drawing of the arrangements of the Roman Baths at Bath, a large portion of which have been lately laid open to view, but are now to some extent covered over with recent buildings. I explained the circumstances under which recent discoveries had taken place, and pointed out what had been previously laid open, giving details of what remains had been found in following the course of the ancient Roman drain, which led to the finding of the Great Reservoir that had supplied the Roman baths. Having fully explained the plans and drawing I passed on to the probable date when the erection of these baths took place, inferring from the style of the masonry, and the size of the stones of which the large rectangular bath is constructed, that it might be fixed at an early period of the Roman occupation. The western portion of Britain had been brought under the Roman power in the days of the Emperor Claudius. A pig of lead found on the Mendip hills, at Blagdon, bears the stamp of Britannicus, the adopted son of that Emperor; and other pigs of an early date have been found—as one of the Emperor Vespasian (A.D. 70), before his son Titus was associated with him in the Empire. About this date Sextus Julius Frontinus was made legate of Britain under Vespasian, and succeeded Petilius Cerealis. He is noted by the historian Tacitus as “*Vir Magnus*” (Agric: c, 17). We know from the work that Frontinus has left behind

him in the "Aqueducts of Rome" that he was a man of no mean ability, and well skilled in "water works," having had the oversight of the water supply of the Imperial city. He was also an able military commander, and wrote a work entitled "Stratagemata." How long his government of Britain lasted is uncertain, but he was succeeded by Agricola, who very probably caused the works of collecting the Thermal waters at Aquæ Solis to be carried out on the grand scale, of which the recent discoveries bear witness. The system of the Roman Baths seem to have occupied one side of the Roman Forum, reaching from the site of the present Pump Room as far as the Abbey Church, and extending to a considerable depth south-west. Much more, probably, remains to be discovered, but what has been laid open serves to show the size and completeness of the buildings, and quite justifies the description of Solinus (Polyhistor), who, speaking of Britain, says:—"In quo spatio magna et multa flumina, FONTES CALIDI OPIPARO EXCULTI APPARATU ad usus Mortalium." These baths, then, at the time he wrote his history, must have been well known, and much in use, if we may judge from the remains of dedicatory altars and other offerings found around the hot springs. He mentions, also, that *Minerva* was the presiding goddess, and we find her name, as well as that of "*Sul. Minerva*," inscribed on these altars and votive offerings. At the meeting of the Archæological Institute at Carlisle, in 1882, an account was given of the discoveries up to that time, and a further statement was made at the monthly meeting of the Society in November, 1884, both of which accounts will be found in the published proceedings; but further researches have brought to light another large bath, and have added much to the plan of the whole.

In vol. xlii. p. 11, and following, are given the dimensions of the large rectangular bath, but the one which has been uncovered since, though not so large, is not less interesting, being circular in form, and the platform surrounding it being equally well preserved, and the walls to a certain height. This has unfortunately been built over, the space being required for modern baths, but the Roman work has not been interfered with, and the walls of the original structure are preserved, and can be

distinguished from the modern additions. The buildings which stood above the large rectangular bath have been removed, and the whole of this bath laid open to view. If this could have been the case with the circular bath adjoining, and the whole arrangement seen at one view, it would have been one of the most interesting and instructive sights to be seen in any county.

A smaller bath was also found and a hypocaust. All these have been carefully planned and described, and can be seen under guidance, but the effect of the whole is much lessened by being built over. A detailed account of the discoveries up to last year, will be found in the Handbook of Bath, prepared for the Meeting of the British Association, in 1888.

The portions of sculpture discovered in the course of excavation, are at present arranged on the platform surrounding the large bath, but many fragments of a much later period were found with them.

The dimensions of the hall containing the circular bath is 39ft. 6in. by 35ft. wide. In these two large portions of the Thermal arrangements we probably have the separate baths for males and females, and appended to these appear to have been single baths, more of which may be eventually traced.

It seems from the large masses of roofing, composed of hollow wedged shaped tiles found in the baths, and on the ambulatory surrounding them, that they had been roofed over, or, if the bath itself was left open, the walks around were certainly roofed. The supports which carried the roof remain to a certain height, and appear to have been strengthened at a later period of the Roman occupation.

The sculptured portions discovered of Roman date have been few, but there is one of considerable interest, bearing traces of elegant work, and of a good period of Roman Art, an account of which will be found in the proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries (11th March, 1886). The subject seems to represent *Æsculapius* and *Hygeia*, the god of healing and the goddess of health. The male figure is offering a saint or a kid, and between the two figures is a cup, round which is a serpent which may symbolize the health-giving waters. On the back of the stone is a dog and a tree, the dog may symbolize *Caniculus* or the dog

star, emblematic of health, and the whole may have reference to the health and healing derived from the use of the waters. A metal plate was also discovered inscribed with Roman capital letters, and which has been differently read by different authorities; a fac-simile of this will be found in the Journal of the Archæological Association for 1886, it is supposed to be a "defixio" or anathema. Many coins were also found, which are at present to be seen in the cases placed in the pump room. These begin with the Emperor Augustus and reach to the reign of Phillipus II.

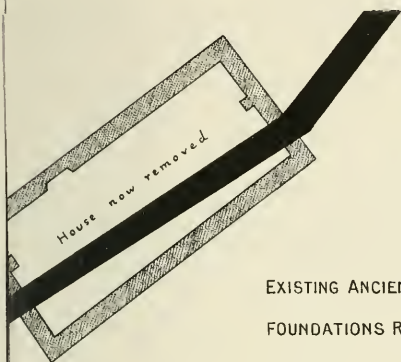
It is hoped that the Bath Corporation who are the owners of this interesting collection and in whom the property of the mineral water baths is vested, will see to the careful arrangement and classification of these objects, and to their preservation. At present they can hardly be said to be arranged at all, having been placed just as they were discovered under glass cases.

The remains found previous to recent discoveries are lodged in the museum of the Literary and Scientific Institution.

It is much to be regretted that a city like Bath, so rich in Roman remains, should not possess a building entirely dedicated to their preservation, like the museum at York, in the grounds of St. Mary's Abbey.

The discoveries to be made are not yet exhausted, as indications of another bath have been come upon, and only wait further investigation to reveal another portion of these grand Thermal arrangements.

When we reflect that no other city in Britain, and it may, perhaps, be said on the Continent—exclusive of Rome—has yielded such remains of Roman refinement and luxury we may well be proud of these discoveries and labour for their preservation, especially as they give us an idea of the importance of Britain as a province of the Roman Empire, and the estimation in which it was held in Roman times. If the Northumbrian wall, and the walled defences on the east and south coast of Britain, as well as the network of roads in the interior, indicate the value put upon the possession of the island, the remains of refinement and civilization, such as the Roman villas and baths, point to the civilization and physical condition of the people under Roman rule.



EXISTING ANCIENT WALLS

FOUNDATIONS RECENTLY EXCAVATED

MODERN WALLS AND BUILDINGS

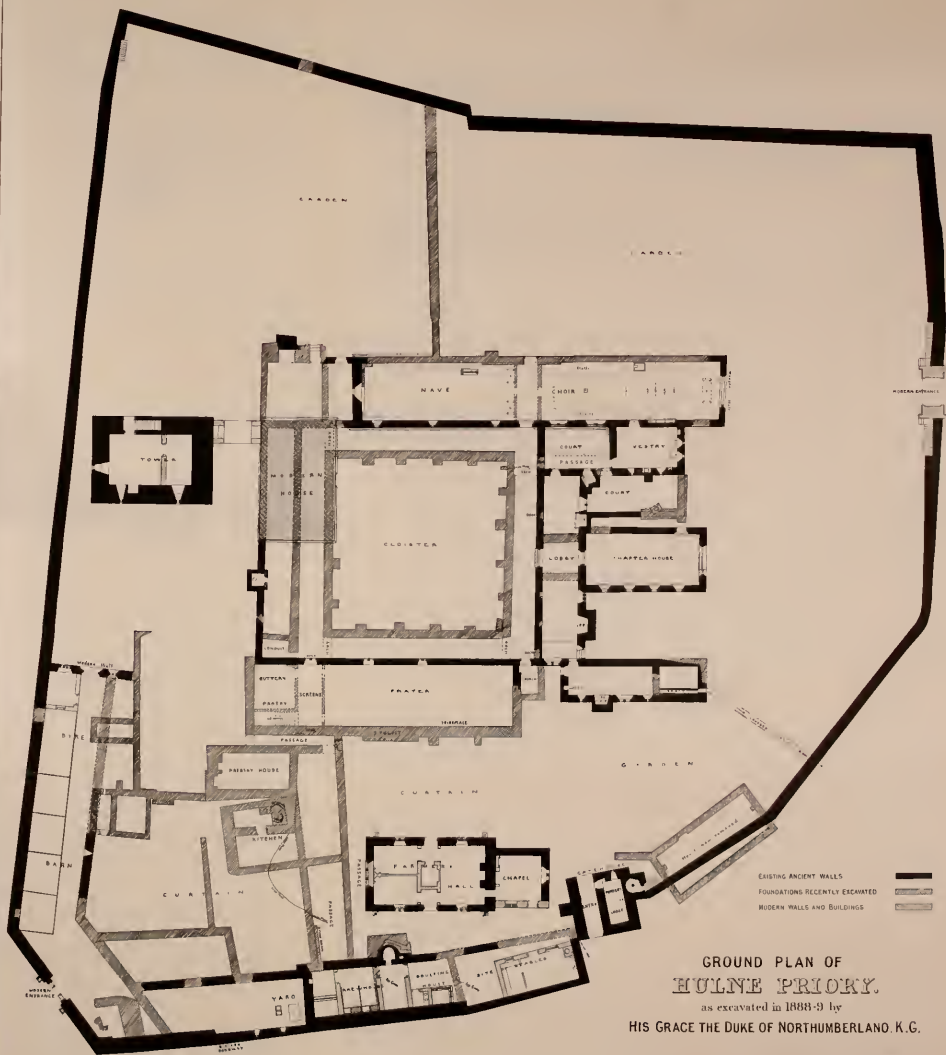


GROUND PLAN OF HULNE PRIORY.

as excavated in 1888-9 by

RACE THE DUKE OF NORTHUMBERLAND.K.G.

0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 Feet



ON THE WHITEFRIARS OR CARMELITES OF HULNE,
NORTHUMBERLAND.

By W. H. ST. JOHN HOPE, M.A.,

About three miles from Alnwick, on rising ground overlooking the river Alne, are the remains of a house of Whitefriars or Carmelites called Hulne Priory.

These remains have been described a number of times notably by Grose, in his *Antiquities of England and Wales*, published in 1775, and by the Rev. C. H. Hartshorne in *Feudal and Military Antiquities of Northumberland*, otherwise known as Vol. ii of the *Memoirs illustrative of the History and Antiquities of Northumberland*, of the Archæological Institute. Since the publication of these and other accounts much new matter has come to light, and as but little is known of the arrangements of friars' houses, a careful examination of the remains of Hulne will probably be found useful in elucidating the ruins of other houses, not only of Carmelites, but of other orders of friars.

The Order of the Blessed Mary of Mount Carmel was founded not very long before its introduction into England in or about 1240, and it is a matter of dispute whether the first English house was established at Hulne or at Aylesford.

Hulne is supposed to have been founded by William de Vesci, but its earliest charter is an undated one granted by John de Vesci, the son, between 1265 and 1288, reciting that he has given and confirmed to the brethren of the order of St. Mary of Mount Carmel in his forest of Alnwick

totam aream suam quæ vocatur Holn, cum oratorio et edificiis in eadem constructis seu construendis sicut in longitudine et latitudine clausura per rectas divisas suas circumquaque jacet munita,

¹ Grose, *Antiquities of England and Wales*, London, 1775, vol. iii.

which area his father, lord William de Vesci, first permitted them to dwell in, and appointed for their possession. He also grants to the brethren timber for building purposes, with many other concessions and privileges. These and later charters, contained in a small chartulary of the priory now in the British Museum,¹ are all given at length in the appendix to the Northumberland volume.

The remains of Hulne Priory deserve special attention for three reasons. In the first place the ruins are more complete, at any rate as regards plan, than those of any other house of the order in England.

In the second place we are able to identify all the different parts of the buildings from a minute and exhaustive survey made very shortly after the suppression, when the house still remained nearly perfect. So very few surveys of this character have been discovered, that every one is of the utmost value and interest.

In the third place, the noble owner, the Duke of Northumberland, has recently had the remains thoroughly excavated and planned, bringing to light many features mentioned in the survey which had disappeared from view.

The survey I have referred to forms part of a more extensive one, begun in 1567 by a person named Richard Clarkson, for Thomas, seventh Earl of Northumberland. Besides Hulne, it includes surveys of the castles of Alnwick, Prudhoe, and Warkworth, as well as other minor matters.

A good deal of the survey is printed in the appendix to the Northumberland volume, but on collating the portion relating to Hulne, which by the Duke's kindness I was able to do with the original at Alnwick Castle, I found it advisable to make an entirely new transcript, which has enabled me to clear up several doubtful passages that had not been quite correctly printed.

The survey is, unfortunately, incomplete in one respect. It was clearly Clarkson's intention to give the dimensions of the various buildings, spaces having been left for them in the manuscript; but in no case have the figures been filled in. Another curious feature is that the points of the compass are wrongly given, Clarkson's east and west

¹ Harl MS. 3897.

being really the north and south. Until quite recently I flattered myself this was my own discovery, but on reference the other day to the account of Hulne given by Grose, I found a copy of Clarkson's survey prefaced by the remark: "It may be necessary to observe, that, on comparing this survey with an accurate plan lately taken, it appears that Clarkson has made several mistakes as to the situation of the building, with respect to the points of the compass"; and on the plan Grose also notes that Clarkson "has committed great Mistakes with Regard to the Points of the Compass." In the following transcript of the survey I have added the true points of the compass in brackets:

"And as it were in the myddes of the saide two pkes called hulne and west parke is situate the laite dissolved monasterye of hulne lait in the teñure of the said S^r Robarte Ellerker Knighte by the graunte of the laite Kinge of fañious memorye henrye the eighte fo^r the tearme of his lyffe onlye and without payment of any Rent and nowe his lordships Inheritañce fo^r that he did purches the same of Anthonye Roñe audito^r and Mr Richard Ashtone the queñes ma^{ties} receyver who did obteyne by purches of the prince the saide scite and howse of hulne with closinge and other medowe grōnds lyinge w^hin the saide pke and appteaninge unto the same, it haith bene inclosed with a drye stone walle the circuite wherof conteaneth in it selfe

roode w^hin w^he circuite the^r be thre closes vidz one close lyinge one the west (south) parte of the sayde howse conteyneth in it self (roodes *erased*) acres the seconde close lyinge on the south (east) parte therof conteyneth in it self and the thride close w^he lyeth upone the east (north) syde of the garding conteaneth in it self the howse is environed with a curtaine walle maide of lyme and stone with a smale battlement and quadrant the entrie therunto is a towre called the gait howse and is of thre howse height coverede with sklaite and guttered with leade and w^hin the same is a smale curtaine halfe quadrant conteyninge in length yerdes in breadth yerdes on the east (north) syde of the saide curtaine is buylded the halle coverede with sklaite whiche would be repared aswell in the tymber as in the sklaite worke it conteaneth in length

and in breadth and in the west (south) end of the same halle is the pantrie maid all of waynscotte and pannell worke and at the south (east) ende of the said hall is a lytle wall maid of Lyme and stone betwixte the halle and the garding walle it conteanethe in length yerdes and in the same litle walle is a dore maide of stone and lyme to serve for a passaidge into the cloyster chappell and other howses of offices and chambers which are aboute the saide cloystere. And from the saide stone walle to the said litle square towre called the gaithowse towre is a nother stone wall havinge also a stone doore heweñ worke for the passaidge into the garding the same wall conteaneth in length yerdes frome the said litle towre towards the north (west) is a curtaine walle conteanyng in length yerde wherein is the lyke doore for passaidge into twoo generall stables whiche are betwixte the said walle and the said curtaine wall, And joyninge to the ende of the saide litle walle is buylded a howse covered wyth sklaite w^{ch} is in length yerdes and in breadth yerdes the neather part of the saide howse is called the farmerye the over parte serveth for a gardner for corne the lofte maye be helped with smalle reparacōns the sklaite are in decaye and must furthwth be repared the irone barres w^{ch} were in the wyndowes of this howse are taken awaye sence my lordes purches by suche as were remaners in his howse; And at the end of this howse is a passaidge of sixe foote broade to the brewhowse standinge betwixte the said farmerye and the saide curtaine walle and to a nother litle curtaine w^{ch} is behinde the kytchinge And overwhorte the northe (west) end of the said first curtaine ther is a howse buyldede of two house height covered with sklaite and in good reparations it is in length foote and in bread foote the neather parte therof serveth for the passaidge or entrie into the kytchinge whiche kytchinge is buylded most lyke unto the facione of a square towre with a rounde rooffe covered wth sklaite w^{he} woulde be repared, and in the same kytchinge is two chymleyes with faire raindges one oveñ a dresser and a litle howse for the paistrie, and the west (south) end of the saide Lower parte of the saide crosse howse is a ceasterne of stone set in the grounde whiche receyveth the water be pypes of leade from the cōndyte for servinge

the said kytchinge the over parte of the saide howse is a faire chamber with one chymleye, and joyninge therunto is a nothe^r litle Chamber right over the said paistrie howse in the north (west) ende of the hall is the butterye fo^r the most parte square and betwixte the buttery and the halle is a passaidge to the said cloister and also by a broade staire of woode. to the said two chambers nighe aboute the entrie of the kitching as is aforesaid a lofte which is over the saide butterye pantrie and passaidge nighe the halle aforesaid nowe used for a gardner and before tyme fo^r the lorde o^r priors walke to se throughe trelleses the use of the S^rvañt^e in the halle and also it serveth for a passaidge to the lordes great chamber and towre, The said cloyster^r is square in the myddest therof groweth a tree of ewe it conteaneth in length yerdes and in breade yerdes it is well paved with stone a boute the said cloyster the windowes haith bene all glasyned and nowe fo^r the most parte are in decaye the east (north) and west (south) sydes of the saide cloyster was covered with lead the^r was of it foure foorthe^r by estimatione whiche was taken and caryed all away by wil^m ellerker and his bretheren sence his l^{ps} said purches the south (east) syde is the dorter wherin is chambers And joyninge ther unto also upone the grounde under the weste (south) end of the said dorter is one howse called the women howse wherin is two chambers with one chimley in the myddle of this end of the said cloyster is the chapell wherin is nothinge left but seat^e and stalles and ther was one lytle ambre which served for the keapinge of the bookes and ornament^e of the said chapell the same was taken away by Johñe Recubye one of the Indwellers of the parke, And at the east (north) end of the said south (east) Syde ther is a passaidge to the saide dorter it is to be noted that in the tyme of the frears the chapell y^t now is was ther chapter howse the churche is all downe and laid into the gardinge the said Dorter Chapell and womenhowse is covered all with sklaite in great ruyne and would be reparede the windowes w^h before tyme were all glased are lykwyse in greate decaye would be repared most specyallye the windowe of the chapell, Ande enlonge the north (west) syde of the sayd Cloyster is one house of two howse heighte conteaininge in length foote and in

breade foote in the neather part therof is two
 sellers the over parte therof the Lordes great chamber
 beinge nowe all roven and the tymbre therof in great
 decaye the irone staynshels taken furth of the windowes.
 Sence his Lordshipe purchessed the said howse And in the
 north east (north-west) nooke of the sayd Cloyster is one
 entrance into one howse of twoo howse height havinge in
 the neather parte twoo chambers with one chymley in
 the whiche the^r was a faire bed of framede work close
 and all of wainscotte it was worth fortie shillinges and a
 boue it was maide by the Laite Erlle of northumbreland
 my lordes uncle tayken in peaces and caryed awaye by
 Johne ellerker And in the over parte of the said howse is
 also a Chamber with one chymley this howse is is (*sic*)
 covered with sklaite and would be poynted with lyme In
 the weste (south) nooke of the sayde north (west) parte of
 the saide cloyster is a condyte of tryme freshe water
 whiche water cometh frome one place of the saide parke
 callede the frearewells in pypes of lead whiche are in
 length yerdes and Rynneth into a ceasterne of leade
 conteyninge in length foote and in breadth
 ynches whiche staindeth of stone properlie set in the walle
 and frome theire runneth in pypes of lead not onlye into
 the saide ceasterne of stone fo^r the S^vice of the sayde
 kytchinge but unto the brewhowse also the said pypes of
 lead woulde also be rep Upon the backsyde
 of the saide farmerye is a litle curtaine and also joyninge
 upone the curtaine walle is (buylded *erased*) a howse of
 foote in length and foote in breade covered
 withe sklaite ande in goode reparations in the une end
 therof is a ptitione fo^r the boultinge howse and in the
 myddste a faire Chimley with a fornace and a lytle oven
 And upone the backe of the said Chimleye stode ther two
 litle smale brewe leades in two furnac^e w^{ch} were tayken
 downe by Roberte Ellerker and yet remaneth in the howse
 the^r is also in that end of this howse whiche serveth for
 the brewhowse certaine vessell unto the same appertayn-
 inge as coolefatte and guylefatte with other such lyke
 Implement^e whiche are lykewyse stayed unto his L^{ps}
 pleasure be further knowen And at the north (west) ende
 of the sayd brewhowse and behinde the said kytchinge
 Butterye and great Chamber is a nother Curtaine whiche

is in length yerdes and in breade foote the west (south) end therof is the curtaine walle one the north (west) syde joyninge and upone the saide curtaine walle is buylded two howses the one called the byer w^{ch} is in length foote and in breade foote it haith a dore through the said Curtaine walle fo^r the cattell to passe in & through the over parte of the sayde byer will S^rve fo^r a haye lofte the other howsse is a barne conteyninge in length foote and the lyke breade as byer is they are both covered with thatch and in good reparacōn and the barne haith also a doore through the walle for taykinge in corne into the same and in the east (north) end of the saide curtaine is the saide towre called the Lordes towre which is in length foote and in bread foote and is of thre howsse height covered with leade the neather part ther of is a vount the other two howses are two faire chambers in eyther of theme one chymley and upon the top ther of aboue the leades one the south (east) syde therof is raysed as it were a garrett wyth lyke battlement as the towre haith endlong all the south (east) syde of the saide towre whiche is also covered withe lead in length foote and in bread foote and in the same is a howse wthe a Chymley called the studye howse the leades are esteemed to be of fyve fother and a half it rayneth in foure severall places of the same whiche fo^r valewe of ten shilling^e woulde be mended and much requysyte it were fo^r to be helped the glasse of the windowes be all gone and broken and at the foote of the towre besyde the vounte is also a doore fo^r the passaidge into the gardinge the entrance into the gardinge the entrance into the towre is through the lordes great chambre as before is mentionede And one the east (north) syde of the saide towre & Cloyster and within the curtaine walle aforesaide is twoo gardinges the one w^{ch} is next the towre is in length yerdes and in breade yerdes havinge a posterne throughe the sayde curtaine walle fo^r a passaidge into the sayde crosse lyinge one the east (north) syde of the saide howse and haith also one grease o^r staire fo^r goinge upe to the battlemente of the said walle fo^r a walke upone the same walle aboute the saide garding^e and orcharde The other gardinge conteaneth in length yerdes and in bread yerde it was a very

faire gardinge nowe all fordoone and the herbes waisted and destroyed and lykwyse the other gardinge also the place where the churche was is nowe full of chery trees and upone the south (east) syde of the said dorter joyninge upone the saide gardinge and w^hin the saide curtaine walle is a litle orcha^d conteyninge in it self an half acre of grounde by estimatione in the w^{ch} groweth one peare tree trees all the other be plome trees & bullester trees the^r be also graft^e of apple trees in the saide two gardinge^e and lykwyse the said litle closse calle the south closse Ande withoute the sayde curtaine walle and w^hin the outmoste walle nighe unto the saide byer dore is one barne o^r laithe covered with thatch and is in length foote and in bread foote y^t is in goode reparatione And right over one the other syde of the waye is a lytle do^uckette foure Squared covered with sklaite newe repared by his lordship wherin is a good flight off dooves.

And joyninge nigh the said scite of hulne toward^e the west (south) is one closse called the calf closse conteyninge acres of ground it is laitlye maide arable by the sayd S^r Roberte ellerker Knighte and suche places therof as will not be corne is kepte fo^r medowe grounde the wood that groweth therein is oke and aller ther is sawen this yere by will^me Ellerker bowels of wheat in this said closse sence his fathers deathe whiche is supposed to be my lordes and not pteyninge to the executors of the said Will^m Ellerker it were therfore expedyent that the dykes were maide that the corne were note destroyed and eaten and lykwyse the howse vewed by certen men of good experience and knowledge that his L^{pe} might determen whether he would alter facione of the buyldinge of the said howse or not and yf he dyd what sorte it should then be buylded and what chardges should be unto his lordshipe and yf not what howsses his L^{pe} will have presently repared the other taken downe or stayed fo^r fallinge and unto whome he will appoynte the custodye of the said howsse what his Lordshipe will appoynte to appteyne unto the same eyther in cattell gait^e or other-ways it is neadfull that fyer were contynualle kept in the said howse and the gardinges and closinge repared and kepte in maⁿer that the^r were no trees growinge about the saide howse cutt downe no^r yet no other^a woode

growinge nighe the same howse for no mañer of use for divars good considerations.

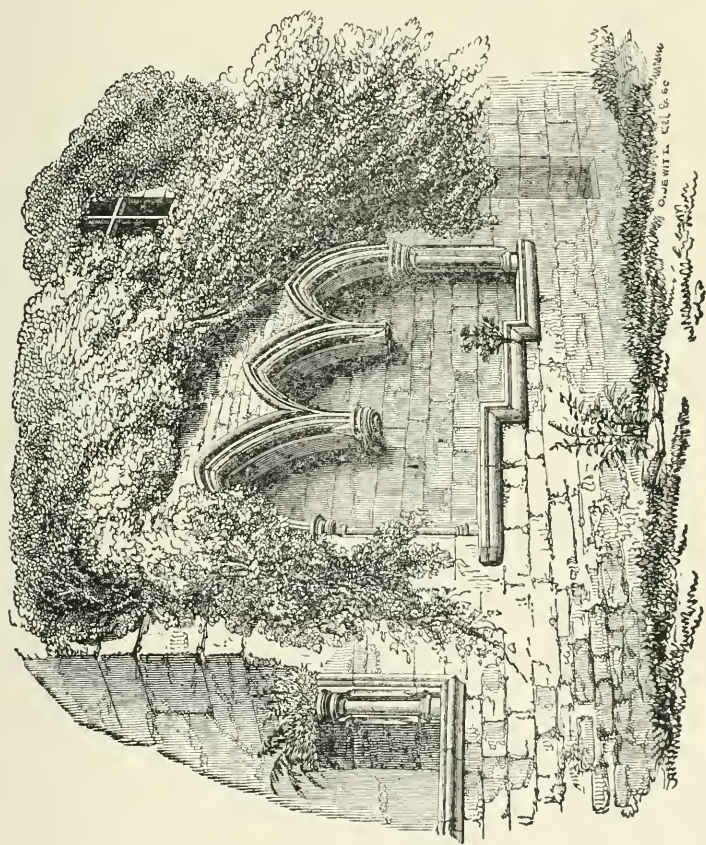
The scite of this howse of hulne standeth in a verye tryme ayre and upone the water of alne in the myddle of the parkes as before is mentioned wthin one myell off alnewycke and not foure myells frome the Sea syde so that yf the howse were well repaired his L^{ps} parkes and groundes in that order as is before recyted it were a tryme place for his L^{pe} to lye at yf he dyd lye in the countrie duringe the tyme of the Somer quarter aswell for his L^{ps} pleasure and comōditie as the ease of his ten^{ant} furnyshinge of his L^{ps} Castells alnewicke and workeworth with provisiōe for his L^{ps} lyinge therin the other thre quarters of the yere yf all his S^rvant^e and gelding^e could not be placed ther then were alnewicke castell nighe enough for that purpose Wherefore it were muche requisyte his L^{pe} well considered to whome he should appoynte the keapinge the said howse fo^r when it was in the handes of S^r Roberte Ellerker it was no lesse hurtfull unto his game then destructione of his woodes his parkes kepte therby in dysorde^r through his Cattell w^{ch} he hadd goinge therin and great resorte he hadde comyng^e to hime and in the end displeasure because his Lordshipe dyde enter into his owne."

Let us now examine the buildings themselves in detail. For convenience we will begin with the church. This, Clarkson tells us, was in his time "all downe and laid into the gardinge," and "the place where the church was is now full of chery trees." That the church is "all downe" is fortunately not quite true, for although the east and north walls are destroyed, and the area "laid into the gardinge," the south and west walls are still almost perfect, and the area is no longer "full of chery trees."

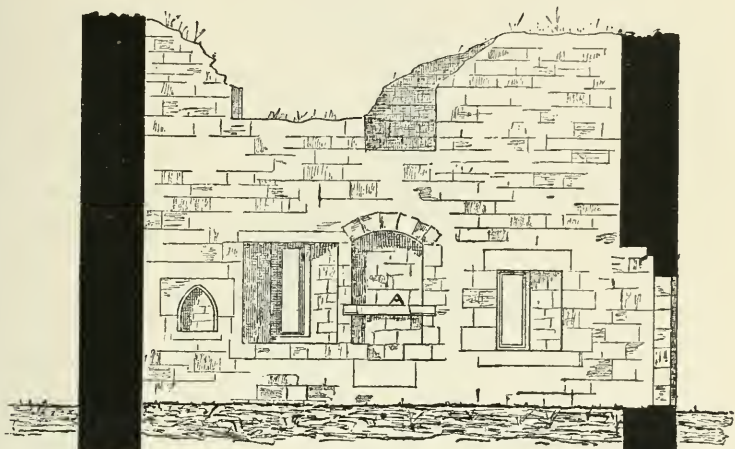
In plan the church was a simple aisleless parallelogram, 119 ft. long and 19 ft. 6 in. broad, without any dividing arch. The east wall is apparently standing to a height of five or six feet; but on examination it will be found to be a bit of sham ruin of eighteenth century date, with a pseudo-window-sill made up of the old plinth. Of the real east wall only the foundations are left. The north wall is also entirely broken down, but enough remains to

shew that there was a door in the middle of its length, and that the western half had a stone bench along it. Of the south wall the first few feet from the east are broken down, but the remainder is standing to its full height. On the east one side of the piscina is left, with an octofoil drain and one of the jambshafts that carried the arch. Above the piscina are traces of a window. Next to this are three stepped sedilia, under molded pointed arches once carried by detached shafts. The width of the stone bench is 16 in., and the seats measure 3 ft. 3 in., 3 ft. 1½ in., and 2 ft. 8 in. in length respectively. On the wall between the sedilia and piscina are two pin-holes, a foot apart, one above the other, the lower about 5 ft. above the floor line. To the west of the sedilia is a plain pointed door with continuous chamfered jambs, which led into the vestry. Between the sedilia and the vestry door, about 4 ft. up, the stump of an iron fastening is leaded into the wall, probably for a hook or pulley for the Lenten veil. Beyond the vestry door are two large windows, each of two wide and plain pointed lights with an uncusped circle in the head; the monials and central stones have unfortunately gone. These windows are rebated on the outside for the wooden glass-frames, but have had iron stay-bars added later; they gave light on the south to the choir of the brethren, whose stalls extended westward from the vestry door and were returned against a screen across the church at almost exactly the middle of its length. The wall beneath the windows is left rough on account of its being covered by the stalls. In the floor in the middle of the choir there still lies a stone with a square socket for supporting the lectern or desk on which the service books lay for the rulers of the choir. There were probably two corresponding windows in the north wall, with two, if not three, others to the east of them to light the presbytery. Owing to the overlapping of the vestry, the presbytery had only one window on the south.

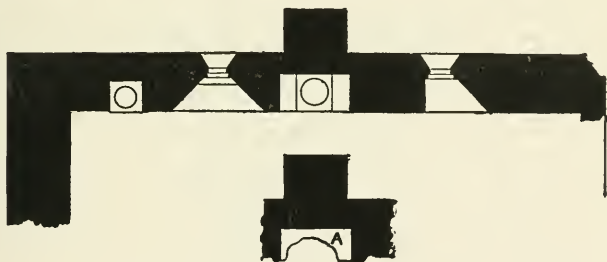
Though no signs of the screen at the west end of the choir are visible, there can be no doubt not only that it existed, but also that there was a second screen a few feet further west; the intervening space being a passage or choir entry with a door from the cloister on the south,



Hulne Priory, Northumberland.—Sedilia.



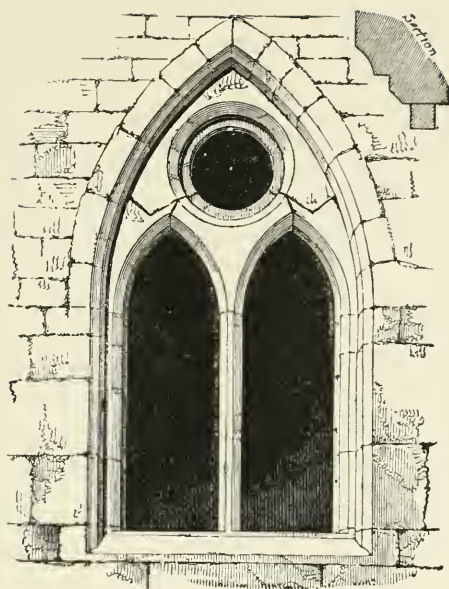
ELEVATION



PLAN

Scale of 5 0 5 10 15 20 Feet

Hulne Priory, Northumberland.—Elevation and Plan of the south side of the Vestry.



Hulne Priory, Northumberland. Windows in Church.

and another opposite it on the north. The western screen had a central doorway between, on the nave side, two altars. The choir entry was ceiled over to form a loft or *pulpitum* above, on which stood the great cross.

The nave was lighted on the south by three small windows, placed high up to clear the cloister roof. Each consists of a trefoiled light with a flat cusped rere-arch and rebated on the inside for the glass frame. In the west wall is a tall single light of the same form, which has been subsequently grooved for glass. Over it in the gable, which is still surmounted by a fragment of the cross, is a small pointed oval light, deeply recessed. The north wall had probably three windows corresponding to those opposite. A stone bench, now nearly all destroyed, ran round the nave walls, but one of the chamfered slabs that formed the seat remains *in situ* (though loose) at the west end of the north side. In the floor of the nave lies an altar slab cut up into several pieces, and a very remarkable slab with a tau-cross pierced with three nails.¹ Another slab, with the indent of a brass shield and marginal inscription, has recently been uncovered on the north side of the presbytery. A much decayed slab, now fixed to the west side of the west wall of the nave, has been removed here from the ruins of the chapel at Alnmouth.

Before leaving the church I should say a few words about monuments now set up in the sedilia. The first of these is a slab 4 ft. 5 in. long, with the effigy of a lady in wimple headdress, holding a heart in her hands. Her head rests on a cushion, and from her mouth issues towards the sinister an uninscribed scroll. On either side of her are two kneeling figures, and on each side of the feet is a couching dog. The date appears to be early fourteenth century. In the next compartment is the lower part of a seated figure of the Blessed Virgin and Child. The Virgin's left foot, but not the right, has two holes drilled in it as if for fixing some ornament. The robes are also drilled with small holes in various parts as if for fixing something, but the holes are too capriciously placed to enable us to conjecture their real object. A broken slab, bearing a cross with a sword beside the stem, is also preserved in the ruins.

¹ See *Archæological Journal*, x. 171.

On the south side of the presbytery is the vestry. It was originally a lofty gabled room, 20 ft. 6 in. long, by 13 ft. 9 in. wide, and of unusually interesting character. In the east wall are two square-headed windows; the northernmost has plain chamfered jambs, but the other has the jambs worked into two hollow chamfers with an intermediate re-entering angle. There is no apparent reason for this difference. Above these two windows there is a third but pointed light, with shouldered rere-arch. Beneath the two lower lights are two large corbels for supporting the altar slab, and on the left a square recess in the wall. In the south wall is a plain pointed piscina, and two square-headed lights. Between the latter is a most interesting arrangement. It consists of a recess with segmental head, 3 ft. wide, 5 ft. high, and about 18 in. deep, with a stone shelf about 18 in. above the sill. The central portion of the bottom is cut down to a depth of $7\frac{1}{2}$ in., leaving a broad shelf on each side, and has a circular sinking with sloping bottom and a drain to the outside. Above the shelf, which is unfortunately mutilated, is a chimney carried up in the wall, which is thickened externally and carried on a buttress. I think there can be no doubt that the lower portion of the recess was used in some way by the sacrist when mixing the flour and water for the altar breads, and that on the upper shelf was a brazier of lighted charcoal for heating the irons for pressing the wafers. The charcoal for the censers could also have been kept here. The west wall is quite plain, but has a door in its south end, which, though modern, takes the place of an original entrance. After the suppression the vestry was divided into two floors. The upper, which was reached by a wooden stair, was made habitable by breaking a fireplace through into the chimney on the south, and making a window by the side of it; a two-light window with a transom was also inserted in the north wall after the church had been dismantled and "laid into the gardinge." All the floors and roofs have now disappeared.

In the chartulary of Hulne already mentioned is a very interesting inventory of the contents of the library and the ornaments of the church made in 1354. It has already been printed by Mr. Hartshorne, but no notice is

taken of added or inserted entries, and in the list of church ornaments a number of most valuable marginal headings have been omitted. The inventory does not throw much light on the arrangements of the church, but it mentions ornaments *pro summo altare*, *pro retro altare*, and *pro alio retro altare*, and further on "six white cloths marked with red crosses and lined with new canvas for the *three* altars in Lent." The three altars, I take it, are the high altar and the two in the nave, but the term "retro altare" is unusual as applied to the latter. A reference to cloths *pro pulpito* shews that there was a loft or *pulpitum* on top of the screen.

On the south side of the nave, and extending a few feet beyond the west wall of the church, is the cloister. This was a rectangular area about 78 feet square with covered alleys all round. The foundations of the garth wall have recently been uncovered, shewing that the east, north, and west alleys were each 8 ft. wide, but the south alley was a foot narrower. Each side contained five windows with intermediate buttresses; and in the two eastern angles of the garth are the remains of the drains for carrying off the rain-water from the roofs. Clarkson says the cloister was well paved with stone, and that "the windowes haith bene all glasyned and nowe for the most parte are in decaye"; the north and south alleys he also states to have been covered with lead. Why Clarkson says nothing about the roofing of the other sides will be seen presently. In the middle of the garth, he affirms, "groweth a tree of ewe." Nothing remains to shew how the cloister was fitted up. Along the church wall in the north alley runs a bold plinth, but there are no cuts in it indicative of furniture or fittings having been placed against the wall. Beneath the nave windows is a molded string course, and immediately below this is an upper row of hooked corbels and an inserted lower row of plain corbels, to carry the cloister roof. At each end of the north alley is a door: that on the east, a plain pointed one, opening into the church; that on the west into a chamber built against the west wall of the nave, presently to be described. On the east alley were five, if not six doorways, leading into a court or passage, and sundry chambers

forming the ground story of the eastern range of buildings, but now all thrown into one. The first door (now blocked) led into a small open yard or court on the south of the choir, between the cloister and the vestry. This court is 22 ft. long and 14 ft. wide, and besides the door into it from the cloister four other doorways opened out of it. One of these led into the vestry, another opened into a yard on the south of the vestry, the third was the door of the dormer stairs, and the fourth led into a chamber under the north end of the dormer, and was fitted with a draw-bar. All these five doorways opened into a corridor along the south side of the yard, thus forming what Clarkson terms "a passaidge to the saide dormer." The second of the doors in the east alley opened into the chamber just mentioned as under the north end of the dormer. This was a comfortable apartment, about 19 ft. long by 12 ft. wide, with a fire-place and a two-light window on the east. It was, perhaps, the prior's chamber. Next to it on the south was a lobby about 12 ft. square, entered from the cloister by a wide archway, in which, in early-Decorated times, another archway, with hollow-chamfered continuous moldings, has been inserted. The side walls of the lobby have now disappeared, but they are shewn on Grose's plan made in 1776, and their junctions with the other walls may be seen. The lobby was probably used as the parlour, or place where the brethren, by leave of a superior, might talk to one another. On the east side of the lobby a wide archway with plainly chamfered jambs opens into a large room, 38 ft. long by 17 ft. wide. This was the chapter-house. It had a large east window of five-lights and on the south four large trefoiled lancets of similar character to the nave windows, but with pointed rere-arches. The jambs are rebated on the inside, and grooves are cut in the sills to drain away condensed moisture from the glass. The north wall has only one window, towards the east, and at the west, a gap which may indicate a door into a narrow passage between the chapter-house and the yard on the south of the vestry. The roof of the chapter-house was of wood covered with slates. It appears from Clarkson that after the suppression, the church was demolished and the rest of the priory used as

a dwelling-house, the chapter-house being converted into a chapel for the use of the inmates. He thus describes its condition in 1567: "in the myddle of this end of the said cloyster is the chapell wherin is nothings left but seat^e and stalles and ther was one lytle ambre which served for the keapinge of the bookes and ornament^e of the said chapell the same was taken away by Johñe Recubye one of the Indwellers of the parke," and he adds, "it is to be noted that in the tyme of the frears the chapell y^t now is was ther chapter howse."

South of the chapter-house lobby was another large apartment. It had at least one door from the cloister, and on the east a window and a large fire-place. The present three-light window is another bit of sham ruin. At the southern end of this room are three doorways, one from the cloister (now blocked), another opposite to it from the outside, and a third opening into a large chamber on the south. In this end is also a large two-light transomed window with straining-arch over, apparently of Elizabethan date.¹ It is probable that the south end of this apartment was partitioned off originally to form a passage from the cloister to what was doubtless the cemetery on the east.

Over the range of chambers just described and extending northward as far as the little court was the friars' dorter. It also extended over the east alley of the cloister, and hence the non-mention by Clarkson of the covering of the cloister roof on this side. Its dimensions were 61 ft. long by 22 ft. wide. There are traces of the arch which was thrown across the south alley to carry the dorter wall up to the south gable. The dorter was reached by a staircase at the north end, the lower part of which remains, with a door from the little court. One of the steps is made out of an incised slab with a cross. Clarkson unfortunately tells us nothing about the dorter except that it was divided into chambers, the number of which he has not inserted in the survey. Nothing remains of the structure itself, except the south gable, which contains a large two-light transomed window and a door into the upper floor of a long building running eastwards. The gable appears to have been entirely re-

¹ Over the window and the door is a row of joist holes for the upper floor.

built in the Elizabethan period. The roof was covered with slates.

At right angles to the eastern range of buildings, at its southern end, are the remains of a two-storied building, 44 ft. long and $9\frac{1}{2}$ ft. wide. On the ground floor it was divided by a cross wall into two chambers. The westernmost was 28 ft. long, and has in the west wall a door to the outside and a locker or cupboard. On the south are (1) a square-headed single light; (2) a two-light window, also square-headed; (3) a large fire-place with flat lintel; and (4) another square-headed light. The north wall is nearly all removed; at its west end is the doorway already described. The easternmost chamber has along the south wall a stone drain with battering sides and a groove for water running into it at the west end. At the east end is a square-headed opening for ventilation, and the drain is continued through the wall below it and underground to outside the curtain wall, as shown on the plan. In the south-east corner is a vertical chase for a pipe from the upper floor. This upper floor was entered from the dorter at the north-west corner, and had a window opposite the door. From the existence of the drain below, the eastern part was the rere-dorter, but all that remains of the arrangements are two very short loops in the south wall for ventilation. The western part may have been an extension of the dorter. The roof was covered with slates.

With regard to this part of the buildings Clarkson says, "joyninge ther unto also upone the grounde under the weste (*i.e.*, south) end of the said dorter is one howse called the woñen howse wherin is two chambers with one chimley." If by "woñen" we may read "wormen," the fire-place would indicate that this was the *calefactorium* or warming house of the brethren; it is, however, uncertain whether the name would be retained nearly thirty years after the suppression, and it is equally possible that before 1567 these rooms had been assigned to the female servants of the lord, who evidently was in the habit of using the place as a dwelling-house.

The south wall of the south alley of the cloister was entirely rebuilt in the Elizabethan period, as may be seen from the lower parts of three windows, and hence all the

old features have been obliterated. At the east end is a doorway, now blocked, which was the principal entrance to the cloister from without. It appears to have been covered by a little porch. The rest of the alley was flanked by the frater and its appendages, of which more presently.

The western alley has been completely destroyed. The building originally flanking this side, of which only a fragment remains, was very narrow, being only 9 ft. wide. It is described by Clarkson as "one house of two howse heighte . . . in the neather part therof is two sellers the over parte therof the Lordes great chamber being nowe all roven and the tymbre therof in great decaye." The upper floor was built over the west alley of the cloister as well as over the two cellars, and was thus 20 ft. wide, by 77 ft. long. Whatever remained of the northern half of this building, and of the west alley of the cloister, was demolished towards the end of the last century, by the first Duke of Northumberland, who built on the site a two-storied summer house, still standing, though now unoccupied. In the remaining fragment of the southern half of the old building may be seen a blocked fire-place on the first floor, perhaps that of "the Lordes great chamber." On the ground floor is a blocked square-headed loop. The recent excavations have also disclosed a small chamber, 9 ft. long and about 6 ft. wide, in the southern end, where probably stood the conduit described by Clarkson: "In the west (south) nooke of the sayde north (west) parte of the saide cloyster is a condyte of tryme freshe water whiche water cometh frome one place of the saide parke callede the frearewells in pypes of lead."

Mention has already been made of a door at the west end of the north cloister alley leading into a building west of the nave. The survey thus refers to it: "In the north east (north-west) nooke of the sayd Cloyster is one entrance into one howse of twoo howse height havinge in the neather parte twoo chambers with one chymley . . . And in the over parte of the said howse is also a Chamber with one chymley this howse is covered with sklaite." The remains of this building consist simply of a fragment of the chimney, and of a piece of wall adjoining the church on each side

containing a door with a two-light window over it. There are no traces of the abutment of the roof against the church wall. In any case it must have partly blocked the nave west window. On plan, as disclosed by the late excavations, the "howse of twoo howse height" appears to be separated from the church by a passage with a door in each end. As the "neather parte" had only "one chymley" to two chambers, this passage and the single large room shown on the plan may have formed the "twoo chambers," while the whole of the floor above formed one chamber, as described in the survey. I think the large room on the ground floor had not a separate door from the cloister, but was entered from the passage, which thus formed the "entrance" of the survey. Both the western range and this building were probably guest chambers in the time of the friars, with the cellarer's store places on the ground floor of the former.

We will now pass to the consideration of the frater and its appendages.

The late excavations have disclosed on the south of the cloister the foundations of a building 86 ft. long by $20\frac{1}{2}$ ft. wide; this was the frater. Nothing is left above ground but a fragment of the east wall with the jamb of a window. The north wall, as I have said, was re-built during the Elizabethan period. No traces of divisions or fittings have been found, but in the middle of the south wall is a projection for the pulpit and east of it another for a fireplace. The survey tells us that in the west end of the frater, or hall as it is called, was "the butterye for the most parte square and betwixte the buttery and the halle is a passaidge to the said cloister," forming in fact the usual arrangement with screens; and on the south of the hall, Clarkson says, was "the pantrie maid all of waynscotte and pannell worke." There also seems to have been beside the buttery a broad stair of wood to certain upper chambers presently to be referred to. Close to the south-west angle of the frater, from which it is separated by a passage a little over 3 ft. wide, is a room recently traced, perhaps "the litle howse for the paistrie." It appears to have been 25 ft. long and 12 ft. wide.

Extending from the frater southwards was a "howse buyldede of two howse height covered with sklaite.

. . . . the neather parte therof serveth for the passaidge or entrie into the kytchinge." This passage was about 75 ft. long altogether, by some 12 ft. in width. In the southern part of it was "a ceasterne of stone set in the grounde whiche receyveth the water be pypes of leade from the coñdyte for servinge the said kytchinge." Elsewhere we are told that the water from the conduit in the cloister "Rynneth into a ceasterne of leade whiche staindeth of stone properlie set in the walle and frome theire runneth in pypes of lead not onlye into the saide ceasterne of stone fo' the S'vice of the sayde kytchinge but unto the brew-house also." The site of this cistern is clearly indicated by the lead pipes found leading to it (see plan) and by a stone drain against the wall, leading to the brewhouse.

On the west side of the building just mentioned was the kitchen, which according to Clarkson was "buylded most lyke unto the facione of a square towre with a rounde rooffe covered wth sklaite . . . and in the same kytchinge is two chymleyes with faire raindges one oveñ a dresser and a litle howse for the paistrie." These arrangements can only be made out generally on the plan of the excavations, from which the kitchen appears to have been about 18 ft. square. The paistry-house was clearly outside the kitchen on the north, for the survey states that over the kitchen entry was "a faire chamber with one chymleye, and joyninge therunto is a nothe' litle Chamber right over the said paistrie howse." The broad stair next the buttery led "to the said two chambers nighe aboue the entrie of the kitching as is aforesaid" and also to a "lofte" over the buttery, screens, and pantry used in 1567 "for a gardner¹ and before tyme fo' the lorde o' priors walke to se through trelleses the use of the S'vañtē in the halle and also it serveth for a passaidge to the lordes great chamber and towre."

On the east side of the kitchen entry and separated from it by "a passaidge of sixe foote broade to the brew-house" is a detached building described by Clarkson as "a howse covered with sklaite . . . the neather parte of the saide howse is called the farmery the over parte serveth for a gardner for corne"; he also speaks of "the loftē." There can be no doubt that not only the "neather

¹ *i.e.* garner.

parte," but the "over parte" both originally formed the *infirmatorium* or "farmery." The former being the farmery hall and the latter its chapel. The building is now converted into a dwelling-house, and has lost its original roof, but most of the windows remain, though the entrances have been modernised. The chapel has a plain two-light window formed of two lancets with a quatrefoil above. On the north are no windows; and the south wall is modern. The hall has two plain two-light windows on each side, and a west window of three lancet lights under a pointed head. It is not possible to say which is the original entrance; there is now one on each side of the hall. Clarkson's "lofte" was probably constructed after the suppression in the roof of the hall.

On the west side of the cloister is a lofty building called by Clarkson "the Lordes towre." He describes it as "of thre howsse height covered with leade the neather part ther of is a voutl the other two howses are two faire chambers in eyther of theme one chymley and upon the top Therof above the leades one the south (*i.e.* east) syde therof is rayسد as it were a garrett wyth lyke battlement at the towre haith endlong all the south (east) syde of the saide towre whiche is also covered wth lead and in the same is a howse w^he a Chymley called the studye howse the entrance into the towre is through the lordes great chambre as before is mentionede." The ground floor of the tower now consists of two cellars, covered with plain wagon vaults, but Grose's plan (1776) shews the two cellars as being in one, as mentioned in the survey. Just within the door, which is on the north side, is a straight stair ascending eastwards in the thickness of the wall to the first floor, where there is a landing and a modern bridge to the building or summer house on the west of the cloister. From the landing a door opens into the principal chamber, a lofty apartment constructed by the first Duke of Northumberland at the beginning of the century by throwing into one the "two faire chambers" of the survey, which were one above the other. The present room exhibits nothing of interest except a much decayed slab over the fireplace recording the building of the tower by the fourth Earl of Northumberland in 1488. A copy of this inscription is fixed in the curtain wall at

the base of the tower, and marks the place of the old inscription before its removal into the tower by the present Duke of Northumberland. It is also printed in full by Mr. Hartshorne, who was so fortunate as to find part of the actual account for the building of the tower, amounting to £27 19s. 8d. From the first floor another staircase ascends southwards in the thickness of the east wall to a doorway now blocked by which access was gained to the destroyed upper chamber. From thence a circular stair or vice is continued upward to the leads and to the "garrett." This is a narrow room with an oriel window on the east, now used as a pigeon house, and destitute of any ancient fittings. From the leads of the tower is a beautiful view of the surrounding country and the Cheviots. The present bridge from the first floor apparently takes the place of an old one, for Clarkson says "the entrance into the towre is through the lordes great chambre" and the account quoted by Mr. Hartshorne mentions "the arch between the great chamber and the tower." The size of the "great chambre" in question is uncertain. I have described it as occupying the upper floor of the western range of buildings, but against the east face of the tower is the mark of a high roof which may indicate that the great chamber stood east and west and abutted against the tower. This building was probably carried on an arch, for the survey says: "at the foote of the towre besyde the voulte is also a doore fo' the passadge into the gardinge," which was on the north. The tower is not now used for any purpose.

We now come to the consideration of the precinct wall and offices.

The priory is still, as in Clarkson's day "environed with a curtaine walle maide of lyme and stone," enclosing the "quadrant," as he terms the area, but the "smale battlement" is everywhere broken down. In other respects the wall remains pretty much in its original condition, except that two pretentious "Gothic" entrances have been made on the east and south-west. These entrances are part of the works done at Hulne by the first Duke. Grose's plan made in 1776 only shews a small door on the east, and no entrance at all at the south-west angle. The precinct, owing to the contour of the site, is an irregular polygon in plan, roughly resembling a square

with one corner cut off. On the south-east angle is the base of a small circular wall-turret. The original entrance is in the middle of the south side, and is built in an angle purposely made for it, and overlooking a steep bank; probably for defensive reasons rendered necessary by the nearness of the Scottish border. Clarkson says the "entrie" into the "quadrant" "is a towre called the gait howse and is of thre howse height coverede with sklaite and guttered with leade." The gatehouse is now a plain square tower, with a low round-headed entrance door 4 feet 8 inches wide. This opens into a passage with a simple barrel vault, out of which a door opens on the right into a small barrel-vaulted cell for the porter, with a fireplace on the east and a single loop on the north. On the east side of the gate, in the inner angle formed by it with the curtain wall is a vice to the first floor. The latter is much ruined but retains part of the springing of a wagon-vault. The second floor has been utterly destroyed. Immediately to the east of the gateway are indicated on the plan the foundations of a house. This is shewn in Grose's plan of 1776, where it is lettered: "Modern House." It was probably removed by the first Duke and the curtain wall rebuilt on the old line. After describing the gatehouse the survey continues: "w^{thin} the same is a smale curtaine halfe quadrant . . . on the east (north) syde of the saide curtaine is buylded the halle . . . and in the west (south) end of the same halle is the pantrie." There can be no doubt that "curtaine halfe quadrant" means the oblong (*i.e.* half-square) court between the farmery and the frater, but the words that follow are not quite so easy to understand: "at the south (east) ende of the said hall is a lytle wall maid of Lyme and stone betwixte the hall and the gardinge wall . . . and in the same litle walle is a dore maide of stone and lyme to serve for a passaidge into the cloyster," etc. . . . "And frome the saide stone walle to the . . . gaithowse towre is a nother stone wall havinge also a stone doore heweñ worke for the passaidge into the gardinge." The question is made more difficult because we are also told that "joyninge to the ende of the saide litle walle is buylded" the farmery. We should of course expect that the gatehouse passage would open into the court, in which case the farmery could join on to the little wall. If on the other

hand the "litle walle" extended from the porch east of the frater to the farmery, the gatehouse would be shut out from the court. From the mention of the little wall being in close connection with the farmery I am inclined, on the whole, to take the latter as the correct view, and to look upon the reference to the gatehouse as merely indicative of the direction of the wall. No trace of the wall has been found by excavation, and neither the gatehouse nor the farmery shew any signs of its junction with them.

Extending along the curtain wall westwards from the gatehouse are fragments of a number of buildings, which the survey fortunately helps us to identify. The first of these consisted of "twoo generall stables," and according to Grose's plan, when it was more perfect than now, its length was 38 feet and its breadth about 16 feet. The next building was the brewhouse, measuring about 50 feet long by 15 feet wide. In Clarkson's time it was "covered with sklaite ande in goode reparations in the une end therof is a ptitione for the boultinge howse and in the myddste a faire Chimley with a fornace and a lytle oven And upone the backe of the said Chimleye stode ther two litle smale brewe leades in two furnac^e . . . ther is also in that end of this howse whiche serveth for the brewhouse certaine vessell" enumerated. The position of the chimney, furnace, etc., is still traceable, as described in the survey, and three sides of the building are remaining more or less perfect, particularly on the south and west. The east end has disappeared and also a cross wall shewn by Grose as dividing the building into two chambers. "At the north (west) ende of the sayd brewhouse," says Clarkson, "and behinde the said kytchinge Butterye and great Chamber is a nother Curtaine" which he states extends from the curtain wall on the south to the lord's tower on the north. On the west side of this "curtaine" were built "joyninge and upone the saide curtaine walle" two houses covered with thatch: "the one called the byer . . . it haith a dore through the said Curtaine walle for the cattell to passe in & through the over parte of the sayde byer will S^rve for a haye lofte the other howsse is a barne" which "haith also a doore through the walle for taykinge

in corne into the same." The byre door still remains in the curtain wall, though now blocked. It is 4 feet wide and has over it four corbels, as if it were covered by some defensive work on the top of the wall. The barn door "for taykinge in corne" is not now visible, perhaps it was where the present door is. The only remains of the byre and barn are a fragment of the east wall with a loop in it, and what appears to be an imposing and ornate north gable. The latter, however, is a sham ruin of the end of the last century, constructed of old materials. Besides these remains, foundations of divers other walls and rooms have been laid bare in this part of the precinct by the excavations. No buildings in this position are alluded to by Clarkson, and they are almost certainly of later date and of no account.

Within the precinct wall on the north, the survey says there were two gardens, the western one "havinge a posterne throughe the sayde curtaine walle and haith also one grease oʳ staire foʳ goinge upē to the battlemente of the said walle foʳ a walke upone the same walle aboute the saide gardingē and orcharde." The blocked postern may yet be seen, and in the angle of the wall still remains the "grease oʳ staire foʳ goinge upē to the battlemente." This north-west angle of the wall was surmounted by a small round turret or watch-box, as I have already described the opposite south-east angle to have been. The other, or eastern garden appears from the foundation uncovered to have been divided from the western garden by a wall. Clarkson says "it was a very faire gardinge nowe all fordoone and the herbes waisted and destroyed and lykwyse the other gardinge." The ground on the east side within the precinct was "a litle orchard conteyninge in it self an half acre of grounde by estimatione in the w^{ch} groweth one peare tree trees all the other be plome trees & bullester trees ther be also graftē of apple trees in the saide two gardingē and lykwyse the said litle closse calle the south closse." Where the friars' cemetery was is not stated. Several skeletons were found during the late excavations in the ground on the north side of the church. One was also found in the little yard between the vestry and chapter house.

In the Public Record Office is the following description of the site of the priory, which though undated is long

anterior to Clarkson's survey, and of great interest as giving the old names of the gardens, etc. :

"firste The Scite of the late howse with oon Towre within the same with Byez and howse of office. oon Gardyne called Kirke garthe. a gardyn called prio^r garthe oon Gardyn called Kitchyn Garthe/ all which conteyn in quantite oon Acre as it is Inclosed wⁱn a stone walland is worth by the yere ou' all chargez.v^s"¹

The precinct of the priory was enclosed by an outer "drye stone walle"² within which were three closes; one on the south, a second on the east, and a third on the north. On the west side "withoute the sayde curtaine walle and wⁱhin the outmoste walle nighe unto the saide byer dore" Clarkson says there was "one barne or laithe covered with thatch And right over one the other syde of the waye is a lytle do^cckette foure Squared covered with sklaite . . . wherin is a good flight off dooves." No traces are now to be seen of either barn or dovecote.

Although the late excavations have not brought to light so much as might have been expected, they have cleared up a number of doubtful points, and antiquaries owe a debt of gratitude to the Duke of Northumberland for the liberal manner in which the work has been carried out at his expense under the direction of Mr. Reavell, the obliging clerk of the works at Alnwick, to whom we owe the accompanying plan. Very little of interest other than the remains of buildings has been found, the most noteworthy discovery being a piece of the shaft of an early cross with interlaced ornament. How it got to Hulne, it is impossible to say. Careful search was made for further fragments, but without success.

P.S. Lord Percy has called my attention to a passage in a letter from Lord Hundson to Lord Burghley in April 1572, quoted in *Annals of the House of Percy* (ii. 65) which seems to shew that instead of acting upon Clarkson's Survey the Earl of Northumberland himself further destroyed the building at Hulne: "And for the Abbey that standes in Hulne Parke he hathe left neyther lede, glasse, irrne, nor so much as the pypes of lede that conveyed the water to the howse, but he hatho browght yt to hys owne howse." It is possible, however, that Alnwick Abbey is here referred to.

¹ P.R.O. Augmentation Office Misc. Bk. 399, p. 318.

² Parts of this remain, principally on the east.

ENGLISH WROUGHT IRON-WORK FROM THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY.

By H. LONGDEN.

I propose, in the following paper, to consider only wrought iron-work that is connected with buildings, and to illustrate it, as far as possible, by references to existing examples, supported by illuminated MSS. and by records. The iron-work of armour and weapons is a subject requiring special knowledge, such as the late Mr. Burges possessed in an eminent degree, but we are not concerned with work of this kind now, and cast iron, though of much interest, is comparatively modern, and does not fall within the scope of the present paper.

The use of wrought iron-work for purposes of security was fully developed earlier than the thirteenth century, and in the illuminations in one of the Cottonian MS., about 1125, fine hinges and lock plates are shown on doors. The hinges are of the strap form, richly worked out at the ends into scrolls and finishing in leaves. Hinges with what is called the C scrolls are very characteristic of this period. The iron-work was much spread over the doors to protect and strengthen the wood of which the doors were made, and no doubt the usefulness of these wide-spreading hinges had much to do with their general adoption in buildings of importance. The work appears to have been done at the place and during the time the structure was being erected. The artificers in all trades connected with a building gathered together while one of importance was being erected, and stayed there as

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long as there was work for them; this might be for years in the cases of the great castles and churches which were being set up in all parts of the country. Good examples of the work of the twelfth century are to be found on the doors of the hall of Merton College, Oxford, or on those in the Cloisters of Durham Cathedral. Sometimes this early work has been altered, having apparently been moved from its original position, and adapted to a new place; but the character of the iron-work of this time is unmistakeable.

In the thirteenth century the same kind of iron-work prevailed, but it became richer and more elaborate, until it may be said to have culminated in such work as the grille over Queen Eleanor's tomb in Westminster Abbey. A peculiar treatment of flowers and leaves sprang up in this century, in imitation of the ornaments which were being carved in wood or stone, or painted on walls, or in stained windows. Swages, or dies made of iron, were carved out, into which the hot iron was beaten, thus taking the impress of the carved flower or leaf by the same kind of process as that by which a seal is made, except that the hot iron is laid upon the swage or die and beaten into it. This amount of force is necessary to produce the required impression, as the iron is too hard and tough to take the impression without it. These flowers and leaves are generally used at the ends of scrolls or branches, though sometimes, as at Tunstead Church in Norfolk, they are welded upon the main strap of the hinge, and turned back to show the modelling of the ornament. Any number of these repetitions may be made by taking due care, and it might be thought that this foreshadowed the modern commercial way of making things by the hundred or the thousand. If applied in the modern way, this manner of making flowers and leaves would be exposed to this reproach, but as the quantity made could only be very small, and the effect sought for could only otherwise be got at very great cost in carving out the ornaments, we may approve of it. I prefer, however, the purely hammered or chiselled work to this, as more legitimate smith's work. On the doors of the Cathedral Grammar School of Norwich are some fine hinges of this kind.

Other fine specimens of the work of this century are in the crypt of Wells Cathedral. An iron door, which was made as a strong door to the Treasury, is there preserved. It is made of slabs of iron nailed to an oak frame-work, and liberally braced across with hinges and diagonal cross-straps, stiffening the door in the best way known at the time. This is not an iron-plated door, but an iron door, it is in fact, a "safe" door of the time, and is an uncommon instance. It must be remembered that the slabs of which this door is formed were all beaten out of lumps of iron, and that iron was not then made as now, in plates, bars, or rods, but that whether a thin plate, a square bar, or a round rod was needed, the lump of iron had to be heated and drawn out on the anvil at great expenditure of time and labour. Much of the charm of old work arises from the irregularity of the shapes, never quite round, or square, or flat, which the iron took, and we miss this in the neat and mechanically finished work of the present time.

I find that the principal smith who worked at the Palace of Westminster in the years 1293 and 1294, in the reign of Edward the First, was paid as highly as the principal mason, 6d. a day,—while the apparitor or foreman was only paid 3s. 6d. a week, or 7d. a day. From this it appears that the skilled smith's labour was as highly paid for as any other labour, and nearly as highly as the foreman's labour. A painter, Master Walter, had 14d. a day, and other painters had from 7d. to 3d. a day. Master Walter would no doubt design the painted decorations, which were very elaborate, containing figures, and he would paint the most difficult part of them, the other painters helping him according to their ability.

The doors to the Chapter House of York have good iron-work of this time. The greater refinement in design and workmanship is shown in the smaller matters of ironwork. At Tickencote Church, in Rutlandshire, is a ring-handle to a door with a shield shaped escutcheon, cut out of plate-iron, edged all round with cusped tracery, and divided lengthway into five long cusped divisions. This, though simple, is as refined in design as any lock-plate of later times.

The domestic work of which we find traces in MS. is

very plain. In a MS. at the Bodleian in illustration of the coronation of Edward the First, in preparation for the feasting, a grid-iron stands on four feet over a fire on the ground out-of-doors, and the cooks are turning the meat upon it with a curious double hook, A great iron flesh-pot is boiling over a fire in a narrow arched fire-place, and the pot seems to have no other support than resting on the fire. These arrangements are much ruder than we shall find later.

In the fourteenth century the development of the iron hinges continues. The arrangement of the design did not change much, but the character of the ornament becomes more naturalistic and the work is done principally by the hammer and not in swages. At S. Margaret's Church at Cley-next-the-Sea in Norfolk, is a specially good example of iron-hinges, and, though they are much decayed from the effect of the sea-air, I found, on examining them recently, traces of the original gilding at the bottom of punched star-shaped ornaments in the straps of the hinges.

Grilles to cover the windows in houses are larger and resemble some which may still be seen in Italy and Germany. There was one at Yanwath Hall in Westmoreland, which I found on a recent visit has disappeared, and in one of the Bodleian MS. a grill is shown in the form of a cage fixed over a window. It is made of horizontal bars of round iron with loops carried inward or towards the windows, through which upright bars are laced. The ends of all the bars, both upright and horizontal, are turned inward and leaded into the wall, outside the opening for the windows, thus forming a complete cage and protection to it.

In domestic work there was a considerable development. In another of the Bodleian MS. two arched stove fire-places have dogs in them, which is the earliest date at which I find them. These are of simple forms, but they generally end in scroll tops, sometimes beaten into leaves. We must however remember that the scribe loved a flourish with his pen, or the painter with his brush, and that these little flourishes in drawing a utensil so liable to be knocked about as a fire-dog, may be chiefly due to the fancy of the draughtsman. In the fronts of these dogs are often shown hooks for spits, and, in this illumination a fire is shown on

the ground, out of doors, with a couple of fire-dogs acting simply as bearers of standards for the spit, which is being turned by a boy, one of "ye laddes of ye kychyn," who sits at one end of the spit, and looks quite uncomfortably near the fire. Sometimes in the stone arched fire place an iron pot is shown hanging over the fire on a rack-hook, to raise or lower the pot, just such as may be seen to this day in the fire places in Surrey and Sussex, where faggots are still burnt on the hearth and fire-dogs used. A tradition of this plan of boiling the pots also remains in Yorkshire and the northern counties, where great coal fires have long been employed, in a fixed bar running from side to side horizontally over the fire, on which a sliding rack-hook to hold pots is fixed, so that the place for the pot can be changed both vertically and horizontally.

The greater refinement of work in the fourteenth century led to much neat and ingenious iron work. I have found a note of a bunch of keys which were slung on a ring, and fitted closely side by side of one another, varying in length, so that when put together they formed almost a solid mass of iron and took up the least possible room. These belonged at the end of last century to Sir John Fenn of East Dereham. Precisely the same things were made in Roman times.

There are very interesting notes in the accounts of the ancient Palace of Westminster about the cost of iron and of working it, from which I give some extracts.

1331.

5th EDWARD III.

Aug. 3. To Robt. of St. Alban's, for 3 cwt. of Spanish iron, for bars and iron-work at the east gable at 4s. 8d. per cwt., 13s.

To Walter de Bury, smith, for making the iron bars at 4s. per cwt., 12s.

Aug. 11. To Robt. of St. Alban's, for 2 cwt. of iron, 9s. 4d.

To W. de Bury, for working the said iron, almost one half of which was wasted in the fire, 8s.

Aug. 31. To Robt. of St. Alban's for 3 cwt. of iron, 15s. 2d.

To Walter the smith, of Bury, for making the iron into bars, almost half being wasted, 13s.

May 17. To Walter de Bury, for an iron bar 12 feet long, weighing 3 quarters 10 pounds, at $1\frac{1}{2}$ d. per lb., made out of his own iron, to strengthen a marble column, and keep in its place under the great form, 10s. $7\frac{1}{2}$ d.

Nov. 2. To Walter de Bury, the smith, for making two iron bars called "tirauntz," fifteen feet long each, out of seven hundred weight of iron de Baton, received by order of the Treasurer out of the stores in the Tower; and for work upon the said bars, for the purpose of strengthening and keeping in their places the "Moynells" (mullions of the window), in the east gable, three-fourths of the iron being wasted in the fire because of its weakness, £1 8s.

1351. June 20. For sixty-one "sondlets" bought of Master Andrew the smith, for the east window of the Chapel, weight 51 lbs. at 2d. per lb., 8s. 6d.

July 25. To Simon le smyth for 100 nails to fasten in the glass, 9d.

1358. To Master Andrew, the smith, for two "ridells" (possibly curtain rods), for the chapel of S. Mary, and two iron bars for the windows in the chancellor's, 12s.

To the same for an iron stand for the image of St. Stephen, £1 6s. 8d.

To the same for 3 pairs of ornaments for the stalls, 3s.

1365. (Ferret cerur') To Master Stephen Smith "pro una cerur' cro' 2 clav' 1 par garnettor 2 ligatior ad 4 bolt et 160 clav' gross rivat' et omnib' stannatis," bought for a certain door newly made in the King's garden, "in grosso," £3 3s. 4d.

To the same, for three great iron bars and ten lesser bars, for the windows of the chamber of the before-mentioned tower, near the King's garden, weight 2,941 lbs., £27 8s. 2d.

To the same for 260 nails, bought to repair the bridge of the (wool) staple and palace, "pro emendatione pont' stapulæ et palac'," weight, $79\frac{1}{2}$ lbs at 2d. per lb., 13s. 3d.

To the same "pro 2 cass' ferr'," for the glazing of a window in the Great Hall, six pair of garnetts "pro prædict' armorial, infra prædictum capellam," and two iron plates for two doors in the King's Treasury in Westminster Abbey, 14s. 4d.

I find some things worthy of notice in these extracts. One as to the quality of the iron. Walter de Bury wasted a considerable part of the iron in working it. This shows that the iron was badly made, or that he was a careless smith, and "burnt" his iron (by which is meant so overheating the iron that its ductility is destroyed), or both, there is no note of waste in the work made out of his own material.

"Spanish" iron seems to have been good, and "iron de baton," or rod iron, from the Tower, not to have been so. I have sometimes thought that all old iron was good, as it was necessarily smelted with charcoal, a process still used, at vastly increased cost when the toughest iron is needed. But I suppose we must conclude that the old iron-work left to us was made of good material, and that the bad has decayed. We know that stone work was not invariably good, and that there was what we should now call "scamping" in building; so I imagine in the making of iron there was good and bad work.

In the complete set of iron-work for a door, paid for to Stephen Smith in 1365, we find "*et omnibus stannatis*," by which it appears that the work was tinned, which is a great protection from rust in our damp climate.

In the fifteenth century iron-work again changed in character. The richly panelled and mullioned doors did not allow of the same elaboration of hinges. This was partly accounted for by the necessity for protection being less, and partly by the architectural style, which covered every part of a building with surface ornament. The hinges are often mere straps passing under the tracery of the doors, and have sometimes pierced ornaments in them, or a little enrichment at the ends, but the simple strap form is only slightly departed from. In a sort of revenge, the locksmith grew into an important personage, in whom was probably merged the smith proper. Beautiful locks were now made, in which the iron cases were covered with rich patterns, pierced out of plate-iron, and one laid over the other, of exceedingly elaborate traceried designs, which were usually framed, or divided into panels by twisted work like rope. As the locksmith with his vice and small tools, chisels, drills and files, had come into the field, he began sculpture in iron, of which

we have only few and rude examples up to this century, and he produced coats of arms with supporters, flowers, and other applied ornaments, done with wonderful spirit and finish, and showing what care and skill can do with an unsuitable material. There is a fine lock of this kind in Beddington Manor, in Surrey, and there are door handles in Lincoln Minster, showing how red velvet, cloth or leather, was put underneath the pierced iron-work.

Railings round tombs were made of square bars, spear or lance-pointed, with heads imitating halberds or other weapons, with rails either cut out for the upright bars to pass through them, or imitating a cable by twisting two round rods and putting in the upright bars at regular intervals as the twist was made—a needlessly difficult thing to do with regularity. Sometimes a rich band of plate iron-work with battlements and inscriptions, or with raised applied letters, ran round near the top of the railing. Round Bishop Beckington's tomb in Wells Cathedral was a fine railing of this character. The Bishop died in 1464, and the tomb was erected not long after this date. In Dugdale's account of Old St. Paul's, with Hollar's engravings, is a representation of St. Erkenwald's altar, which stood behind the High altar, and this altar, over which the Feretory of St. Erkenwald stood, was surrounded by a railing very similar to that I have described.

There are some good iron fire-dogs in the Vicar's Close Common-Hall at Wells, which seem to belong to this century. They have rather rudely sculptured rams' heads at the top, with rings in them, by which the dogs can be moved; the shafts are octagonal, with a finely moulded collar in the centre, and the foot is square and rather clumsy. Brass had begun to come into use for this kind of work, and the smith was gradually being pushed out of his place among the workers in the industrial arts.

In the sixteenth century hinges became quite small, and spread up and down the styles of the doors, having chamfers of an ingenious kind, which suggested the strap-work so much in use then as an ornament. Sheet iron was cut out into ornamental forms and used for making lanterns, the work of the smith being in full decadence.

The grates at Haddon Hall, which are simple baskets, or, when dogs are used, have the ornamental parts

applied in brass, are some of the earliest attempts to make grates for burning coal, which has for centuries been worked in that part of England.

The date of the curious iron hinges on the North Porch door of Dartmouth Church, consisting of sprays of oak-work nearly covering the door, with two great leopards stretching right across the door and over the oak-work, is disputed, but I am inclined to put them in the sixteenth century.

In the seventeenth century came a great revival of iron-work in a very characteristic style. Sir Christopher Wren used this metal in his buildings, and in St. Paul's are some of the best examples of his manner. The gates, both outside and inside, the grilles in the openings in the stalls, and some railing to the staircase in the south-west tower show the great ability and freedom with which Wren used iron. Tijou, a Frenchman, directed this work, and other men worked under him, as the following note shows from the accounts of Trinity College, Cambridge, between March, 1691, and February, 1692:—"Paid to Mr. Partridge, the London Smith, in part for gate and other work £80 00. 00. Paid to Mr. Partridge in full, for the three iron gates in the Cloyster and Iron Railes in the stair case, besides £80 formerly paid £320 00. 00."

From this we see that the modern system of making wrought iron work, away from the building for which it is intended, had become established, and that Wren's great works at St Paul's, and his other buildings, had established a school of iron-workers in London. Good work was, however, made elsewhere, but it gathered to centres, and the travelling or nomad smith has disappeared.

The famous screens at Hampton Court are said to have been made by Huntington Shaw of Nottingham, and we have seen in our excursions from various centres iron-work in All Saints' Church, Derby, a curious iron temple in Melbourne Hall grounds, the gates of Chirk Castle, fine gates and screens in Wrexham Church, and the rich hanging pieces to the two fine brass candelabra in Melton Mowbray Church, "The gift of Rich. Gregory of Burton Lazars in this parish, Gentleman, 1746."

This brings us almost to our own time. At the end of

the last century ornamental smith's work died down again, and the development of iron-founding—which is an excellent thing in its place, and has an interesting history—for the time checked the smith's art.

It is as a part of the great revival of the arts, in connection with architecture in our times, that iron-work has been revived, and in this, as in so many of the art industries, we owe a deep debt of gratitude to Augustus Welby Pugin.

It is often said that old work is better than new. This is not true if the latter is set about in the old way, and after study of the reasons for the excellence in the former. The ordinary needs of agriculture and of manufacture have kept alive the race of smiths, and there are among them many skilful men, with a love for their art, who, if they are shown the reason of the excellence of the old work by anyone who enters into it, will set themselves to rival it, or, if possible, to surpass it. The northern nations of Europe are smiths by instinct, and we have not lost the instincts of our forefathers in this particular any more than in other ways. Let due opportunities be given and I will answer for a response being made to them.

NOTICE OF SCULPTURES OF ORIENTAL DESIGN AT BREDWARDINE AND MOCCAS, HEREFORDSHIRE.¹

By the REV. GREVILLE I. CHESTER, B.A.

Two years ago, when visiting the beautifully situated Norman church at Bredwardine, Herefordshire, my attention was attracted by a remarkable design sculptured over the Norman north door. The doorway is of the usual Norman character, semicircular, with plain chevron mouldings. In the centre of the arch are two roundels containing sculptured subjects, the right-hand one of which, being familiar with the forms of ancient Egyptian mythology, I at once recognised as an unmistakable representation of Bes or Besa, the Typhon of the Greeks, who is usually portrayed as a deformed and nude male figure with bandy legs, tongue lolling out of the mouth, pendant beard, and protruding eyes. A lion's skin with the tail hanging down behind is thrown over the otherwise naked body. The Bredwardine sculpture reproduces with very tolerable fidelity most of these characteristics, and close examination reveals that there is even an attempt to represent the set of ostrich plumes with which Bes is almost invariably crowned.

Altogether, the resemblance of this sculpture to a statuette or amulet of Bes, whereof many specimens may be seen in the British Museum, is so great that it is plainly evident that the Bredwardine sculptor had either seen or been possessed of a veritable specimen, which had been brought either by himself or some pilgrim friend from Egypt, and which he copied as an appropriate design for the *north* side of a church.

The neighbouring figure in the roundel to the left is of inferior execution, and has suffered more from the ravages

¹ Read at the Monthly Meeting of the Institute, November 7, 1889.

of time than the one already described. On the occasion of my first visit I was puzzled as to its proper appropriation, but, having recently inspected it a second time I have now little doubt that it represents a Cynocephalus ape, the well-known emblem of the lunar gods Khonsu or Khons, and Thoth, to whom he was held sacred. The curious fact has, therefore, come to light that an English church of the twelfth century was adorned with sculptures representing, certainly *one* and probably *two*, Egyptian religious subjects.

This, however, is not all. Proceeding from Bredwardine to the still more curious and unaltered church in the neighbouring parish of Moccas, I found further evidence of the influence of ancient Oriental art.

The Tympanum of the Norman south door at Moccas is occupied by a very curious and unusual design. In the centre rises a conventional tree, in the centre of whose stem a cross is formed by the addition of a well defined and carefully executed cross bar. Above this crop out branches, right and left, which terminate in spiral ornaments, which with other detached branches, if such they may be called, fill up the portion of the design. On the side of the stem below are two beasts, disposed heraldically, whose divers tails show that they are intended to indicate different species, perhaps a lion and a bull. Each of these monsters is engaged in devouring the draped figure of a man, of whom each protrudes his arm and hand from the very jaws of his devourer and clutches at the central cross for safety.

I have no doubt that this design was copied from some Babylonian or Assyrian cylinder, which also was in the collection of this twelfth century Herefordshire sculptor. The central tree, Christianized by the introduction of the central cross bar, and probably connected in the sculptor's mind with the Tree of Life, bears strong resemblance to trees on both Assyrian sculptures and Babylonian cylinders in the British Museum. For example, offerings are being carried to a very similar tree on a slab of the time of King Assur-Nasir Pal, B.C. 580. Hitherto little seems to have been known of the meaning of these many branched trees which are of such frequent occurrence in Mesopotamian art. Dr. E. Tylor, of Oxford, however, in an interesting

letter in the "Academy,"¹ claims to have discovered their meaning, and identifies the objects like fir-cones which winged deities bear in baskets to conventional palm trees, with the efflorescence of the male trees, when divested of its sheath, and ready to dust the pollen over the female flowers. This operation was of course one of vital importance in a country like Assyria, whose inhabitants depended so much upon dates for their daily food. I may add that the work upon the doorways of Moccas and Bredwardine are manifestly by the same hand.

And here I might stop, but I cannot help calling attention to another point, which *may* be only a co-incidence, or *may not*.

Upon the lintel stone which supports the tympanum of the south doorway at Moccas, are several roundels containing conventional designs of a star-like shape. I believe I have seen similar designs upon other Norman doorways, and of Norman origin they perhaps are in this instance, but I cannot refrain from pointing out that these star shaped ornaments most closely resemble those found on stone sarcophagi discovered near Jerusalem, and of which, if I mistake not, some specimens are engraved in "The Recovery of Jerusalem," published by the Palestine Exploration Fund; and roundels of similar type have, I believe, been found cut upon rock-tombs in other localities in the Holy Land. If this resemblance be not accidental, another indication is afforded that the Herefordshire carver or his friend had visited Palestine as a pilgrim, had jotted down what he saw in his rude vellum note book, and had reproduced the designs that pleased him on the banks of the eddying Wye.

¹ June 8, 1890.

ANGLO-NORMAN ORNAMENT COMPARED WITH DESIGNS
IN ANGLO-SAXON MSS.

BY J. PARK HARRISON, M.A.

Forty-six years ago Mr. Thomas Wright drew attention to the importance attaching to the architectural details in illuminated Saxon manuscripts; first, as shewing that squared stone was in use in England long before the Norman Conquest, and, next, because numerous details in pre-Norman MSS. so closely resembled distinctive features in existing Churches, that there could be little doubt that they were either of contemporary date, or copied from earlier work that was so. He more particularly alluded to the evidence that the miniatures afforded regarding the style now admitted to be Saxon; but whilst referring to Churches like Deerhurst and Sompting as examples of the better type of pre-Norman buildings, Mr. Wright expressed a strong opinion that much remained to be learnt from more extended research.¹

Following, though tardily, this suggestion, a close examination has now been made of all the architectural features and ornaments in the three illuminated MSS. referred to by Mr. Wright, viz: Æthelwold's Benedictional, Ælfric's Pentateuch, and Cædmon's Paraphrase, besides others of about the same date and English origin, in the British Museum and Bodleian Libraries, and the admirable reproductions of Saxon miniatures and details in MSS. less accessible, in Professor Westwood's "Fac-similes."

Before stating results, it will be well to repeat what was said on the subject of pre-Norman Churches in England in a note communicated to the Institute in

¹ Journal, British Archæological Association, Vol. I, p. 1.

1883, viz: that in addition to the style now accepted as Anglo-Saxon, which appears to have been derived from wooden structures, there was another, a development perhaps of an earlier one which Professor Freeman some time back proposed should be called English Romanesque. It is this style that is principally illustrated in the illuminated MSS. of the tenth and earlier years of the eleventh century, to which, with one or two exceptions, search has been confined.

The more important churches founded by Kings of England and heads of the great Monastic orders, which were probably erected in the latter style, would have been the first to be rebuilt on a larger scale after the Conquest. A careful search, however, has in more than one instance resulted in the discovery of earlier work in buildings even of this description.

The identification of such work in Anglo-Norman buildings may prove to be a less difficult task than might at first be supposed, seeing that the style of architecture that existed in Normandy at the time of the Conquest, as ascertained by MM. Bouet and De Caumont, of Caen, in concert with Mr. J. H. Parker, was severely plain. Its Romanesque capitals were in fact the only ornament.¹

M. Bouet, in his excellent work on the architecture of St. Stephen's Church, mentions that the "chapiteau cubique," or cushion capital,² in its various forms, appeared suddenly in Normandy, as if introduced from abroad, and presumably from England, in the twelfth century, at about the same period as the embattled fret and triple arrangement of clear-story arches. In the thirteenth century, also, the rare capital with inverted volutes appears in the apse of St. Stephen's Church, and M. Bouet

¹ The following extract is from a paper by Mr. Parker on this subject. "The great Abbey Churches at Caen had long been considered the starting point for the history of architecture in England, and the connecting link between the architectures, and at the same time it had been taken for granted that these Churches, as they now stand, were fair examples of the style of building in use in Normandy at the time of the Conquest. A careful examination, however, shewed that this was almost entirely a *delusion*, which had greatly misled the generality

of English historians and amateurs. When he came to examine these churches in detail, with the careful observation required by the system of Professor Willis, he found that in the Church of St. Stephen there was such a difference of construction in different parts, as to mark the work of three distinct periods." Proceedings of the Oxford Architectural and Historical Society, vol. 1, New Series.

² See p. 49, *Analyse Architecturale de L'Abbaye de Saint-Etienne de Caen*. Par G. Bouet, in the library of the Institute.

states that it was previously used in Sherborne Chapel, Durham, by Bishop Pudsey, in the twelfth century. Now this capital occurs in the Saxon church of Merton, Lincolnshire, and in three distinct illuminated MSS. of tenth century date. [Nos. ii, xii, and xiii in the list].

The architectural details in the MSS. above referred to are as follows :—

I. Psalter. B.M. 603, 11th century.

Arcades.

Square turrets.

Battlements.

Tall narrow doorways.

Ashlar.

Church with clear-story.

Twisted column.

Cushion capitals.

Picture of a mason making use of a pointed chisel.

[*Note.* Most of the miniatures in this MS. are copies of those in the Utrecht Psalter, which was of much earlier date.]

II. Gospels in Latin. Bod. Laud, 102, 9th century.

Arcades of four arches over calendars.

Foliated capitals.

Ornamented pillars.

Inverted volutes.

III. Psalter of King Athelstan. B.M. end of 9th century.

Two round arches, indicating a building with an aisle.

Mouldings, or chamfers.(?)

Cushion-shaped capitals.

Sloping bases.

Holy cradle, in form of a church, with an arcade in lower stage, three round windows and clear-story. [Pl. III, fig 5.]

IV. Latin Psalter. Salisbury Cathedral. 9th or 10th century.

Round arches.

Foliated capitals.

Lines indicating mouldings.

Shafts at corners of piers (?)

- V. *Æthelwold's Benedictional*.¹ Eaton Hall, c. 1000.
 Intersecting arches.
 Double arches under an embracing arch.
 Square turrets.
 Piers with panels, or corner shafts. (?)
 Twisted pillars (on a throne).
 Foliated capitals.
 Romanesque bases.
 Intertwining stalks.
 Ashlar, in courses of different heights.
 Acanthus foliage.
 Holy cradle, in form of a church, with aisles and clear-story.
 Balustered shafts.
- VI. *Ælfric's Anglo-Saxon Pentateuch*.
 B.M. Claudius B. IV, c. 1000.
 High arches.
 Apse.
 Sub-arches, springing from attached shafts.
 Square turrets. [Pl. III, fig 4.]
 Tall narrow doorways.
 Ashlar, in courses of unequal height.
 Battlements.
 Small arcades.
 Bell-shaped capitals.
 Cushion capitals.
 Foliated capital. [Pl. II, fig 7.]
 Capitals with pointed leaves. Pl. II, fig. 10.]
 Capitals with volutes.
 Sloping bases.
 Doorway with tympanum.
 Twining stalks and leaves.
 Acanthus leaves.
 Star-shaped diaper, (on a throne.)
 Zigzag border. [Pl. III, fig 12.]
 Cable moulding. [Pl. III, fig 10.]
- VII. *Cædmon's Paraphrase*.² Bod. Junius, 2, c. 1000.
 Diaper work. [Pl. III, fig 1.]
 Arches springing from half capitals.
 Triple clear-story arches.

¹ Reproduced in *Archæologia*, Vol. xxiv.² See *Archæologia*, Vol. xxiv.

Turrets, with two-light windows.
 Tall narrow doorways.
 Small arcades.
 Piers with panels (?), or corner shafts. (?)
 Ashlar, in unequal courses.
 Rounded, or cushion capitals.
 Capitals with volutes.
 Capitals with interlacing stalks.
 Rounded bases.
 Acanthus foliage.
 Battlements.

VIII. Latin Psalter. Bod. Junius, 27, 10th century.

[Initial letters only.]

Acanthus foliage.
 Stalks issuing from tubes or pipes. [Pl. II, fig 2.]
 Eagles' heads in involved foliage.

IX. Prudentius. Bod. early 11th century.

Acanthus foliage.

X. Dunstan. B.M. Claudius, A, 3, 10th century.

Tall narrow doorways.
 Two square turrets.
 Shafts ornamented with chevrons.
 Label decorated with minute arches. [Pl. II, fig 1.]
 Twining stalks and leaves.
 Female head, with leaf head-dress. [Pl. II, fig 1.]
 Acanthus leaves.

XI. Litany.¹ Bod. 775, late 10th century.

[Two initial letters only.]

Interlacing bands. [Pl. II, fig. 4.]
 Twining foliage.

XII. Gospels. B.M., Cal. vii., early 11th century.

Inverted volutes.

XIII. Psalter. B.M. Tiberius, C. VI, early 11th century.

[Ideal Holy Sepulchre.²]

Arcades of small arches.
 Circular windows.
 Twisted pillar with foliated capitals.
 Steps ornamented with zigzags. [Pl. III, fig 11.]

¹ This Litany contains a prayer for King Ethelred and the English Army.

² Reproduced in Westwood's "Fac-similes."

Line of pellets.

Well proportioned round-headed windows.

Bands of bead ornament. [Pl. III, fig 9.]

Inverted volutes. [Plate II, fig 9.]

XIV. Hymnal. B.M. Caligula XV, 11th century.

Arcade of small arches.

Square turrets.

Church with aisles and clear-story.

Apse at end of an aisle (?)

Tall portals.

Moulded arches.

Battlements.

XV. Psalter. B.M. Har. 2904.

Acanthus leaves.

XVI. Missal of Bishop Leofric. Bod. c. 1000.

Acanthus foliage.

Most of the features in this list occur in the Church of the Holy Trinity, St. Mary and all Saints,¹ now the Cathedral of Christ in Oxford, namely: (1) square turrets; (2) intersecting arches; (3) couplets under embracing arches; (4) clear-story windows flanked by small arches; (5) arcades; (6) sub-arches springing from half-capitals inserted in main columns; (7) cylindrical pillars of unusual height; (8) arches with roll mouldings; (9) doorways and windows with side shafts; (10) circular window; (11) tall narrow doorways; (12) cushion capitals; (13) capitals ornamented with intertwining stalks: in some cases issuing from pipes; (13) capitals formed of three pointed leaves; (14) capitals ornamented with acanthus leaves; (15) scalloped capitals; (16) capitals with inverted volutes; (17) cornices or imposts ornamented with five-petalled leaves; (18) bead ornament; (19) ashlar in unequal courses; (20) leaf head-dress; (21) sloping bases; (22) slightly projecting rounded bases; (23) bases formed of two rolls with a straight line between them (in the clear-stories); (24) foundations of apses. Besides fragments of string courses ornamented with zigzags, &c., found built into walling of post-Norman date.

¹ This was the ancient Dedication of St. Frideswide's Church, and it was adopted by Wolsey for his intended College; with

the addition of the name of St. Frideswide, see engraving of Seal in Dugdale, vol. *Ad fin* :

Though the features enumerated correspond with miniatures and ornamental details in pre-Norman MSS. this does not, of course, in itself, show that any of the work at Christ Church Cathedral is pre-Norman; for earlier Saxon work may have been copied. Close examination, however, has led to the discovery of a "break of joint" between the choir and the transepts, and a difference of size in the capitals at the junction, which prove that there was no continuity in the work such as has been supposed; and that the choir is much older than the rest of the Church, though greatly altered in appearance, in the twelfth century, by the addition of the new presbytery, the chancel-arch and tower shafts, and the reconstruction of the tower arches, which appear once to have sprung from imposts¹; and still more by the introduction of vaulting, and vaulting shafts in the aisles, not contemplated in the original plan.

This, however, is not all. The arrangement of arches springing from half capitals, inserted in main pillars, is clearly represented in a miniature in *Cædmon*; (see plate III, fig 2), and is not found in any other church except Oxford Cathedral.² A reason might perhaps be given for this unusual plan, if, as history seems to imply, *Æthelred's* Church, which was added on to an older building with low walls was never taken down.

That several of the choir capitals, which also correspond with patterns in *Cædmon* and other pre-Norman MSS., are older than any in the nave or transepts, is evident from their weathered condition; due either to exposure for some time to the open air, perhaps from decay of the roof, indicated by the non-acceptance of the Church on account of its state of repair, when offered by the Conqueror to the Prior of Abingdon; or, from the length of time the capitals have been subjected to the ordinary softening effects of the atmosphere.

Ten capitals in different parts of the Cathedral have inverted volutes. The earliest perhaps are in the north arcade inside the Tower and the south triforium of the choir; and then the one in the south east corner of the

¹ This seems evident from the mutilation of the rows of leaves occasioned by the insertion of the twelfth century capitals.

² At Romsey there are sub-arches which spring from attached shafts, not half caps. At Jedburgh sub-arches spring from corbels.

south transept. [Plate I, fig 3.] The latest is in the nave on the south side.

An early example exists at the west end of the arcade in the north aisle of the nave of Peterborough Cathedral, where there is other work, that, it can scarcely be doubted, is copied from features in an earlier church.

The twining stalks in four of the choir capitals at Oxford, with pipes, out of which the stalks issue, correspond very closely with designs in late 10th century MSS. [Plate II, fig 2.]

Also in two other capitals the arrangement of acanthus leaves is very similar to that in borders round miniatures in some of the beautiful Winchester MSS. of tenth century date, when, as Prof. Westwood informs us, there was a remarkable revival of such foliage. [Plate II, figs 5 and 6.]

It has already been stated in a former paper¹ that portions of the walls and foundations of apses of the ancient church of the Holy Trinity, which was renovated and enlarged by Æthelred II in the beginning of the eleventh century, are still in existence. The jambs of a doorway belonging to the original church go down 2 ft. 8 in. below the pavement of the north aisle of the choir in which it is situated. The doorway would clearly have been tall and narrow, and its arch is very straight sided.

There are other features found in the illuminated MSS. and, also, at Christ Church, which it is important to note, viz: square and round turrets: [Plate III, figs. 4, 6, 7,] and clear-story triplets.

A mistake regarding the date of the choir of the Cathedral seems to have arisen from the circumstance that, when the remains of St. Frideswide were placed in a feretrum in the north aisle in 1189, the Archbishop of Canterbury took part in the ceremonies. From this it has been concluded that the church was consecrated on the same occasion. It was not, however, the practice to postpone consecration until the completion of a church. The translation of St. Frideswide's remains in all probability took place when the alterations in the north choir aisle were finished, which would have been about 1189. There is no documentary evi-

¹ "Recent Discoveries in Oxford Cathedral." Arch. Jour., 1888.

dence pointing to any consecration but that of Æthelred's church; and, as Dr. Ingram pointed out, there is not a tittle of evidence to show that it was ever pulled down: however much it may have been altered.¹

As regards other Anglo-Norman Cathedrals, though Britton's view, that the Normans when rebuilding English churches adhered both from policy and choice to the severe style of architecture they brought with them, may be accepted as generally correct, there are instances of the adoption of ornamental features from Anglian churches soon after the Conquest, *e.g.*, at Lincoln and Winchester. At Lincoln Remigius built the three great portals at the west end of the Cathedral in identically the same style as that of the Conqueror's Church at Caen, at that date; that is to say, with square soffites to the arches, and debased Romano-Corinthian capitals. In the narrow apsidal recesses, however, on either side (if, as seems to have been the case, they were erected at the same time), though the two lower orders are without mouldings, the outer rims are ornamented with a roll and decorated label, both of which appear to have been copied from features in the old Cathedral at Stow. The same pattern appears on an arch in the picture of Dunstan (so called), in the Cottonian MS., Claudius A., 3 (No. x. in the List). See Plate II, fig 1. It occurs also on a string course round the walls at Stow which were rebuilt at the end of the eleventh century.²

The second instance of early adoption of Saxon ornament is the use of the cubic or cushion capital by Walkelyn at Winchester. This form of capital, as has already been mentioned, was not known, or at any rate was not used, at Caen until the twelfth century.³

¹ "There is no proof or record to shew that Ethelred's work was destroyed; *

* * Yet this was, without doubt, a work of considerable magnitude, for in the Royal Charter, which is still extant, the Church is said to have been renovated by the help of God, through the exertions not only of the king, but of his people, * * * So great was the satisfaction which the king derived from the restoration, that in the half modernised orthography of the Langbourn Manuscript, he calls it "myne owne

mynster in oxen forde." Ingram: Memorials of Oxford, vol. 1.

² A careful sketch of the ornamentation on the deep imposts of the south doorway of the Saxon Church of Barholm, near Stow, which has been sent to me, shows a double row of the same small round arches, and under them a line of zigzags, and a curious pattern resembling a row of fish conventionally treated. There is a fragment similarly ornamented in the gallery over the vestry at Christ Church.

³ See p. 1, ante.

If the size of Oxford Cathedral should be pointed to as more considerable than that of other pre-Norman churches, it should not be forgotten that Ethelred II was brother-in-law of Duke Richard of Normandy, who, according to the annalist of Fontenelle Abbey, was so distinguished for his art-knowledge that bishops and monks, both Greek and Armenian, journeyed from the east to visit him. He was also the founder of Bernay Abbey and the Church of St. Michel's Mount, in both of which there are capitals like some in Oxford Cathedral, where, according to Sir G. G. Scott, there is clearly evidence of eastern influence.

In conclusion ; in his last work on ' Gothic architecture,' Mr. Parker wrote as follows :

"The Saxons appear to have been more advanced in the fine arts, such as sculpture, than the Normans ; but their churches were on comparatively a small scale, and were generally swept away by the Normans, as not worth preserving."

And again, "recent observations seem to shew that the Saxons were more advanced than the Normans at the time of the Conquest ; their work was more highly finished, had more ornament, and they used fine jointed masonry, while the Normans used wide jointed."

Further examination of the masonry and ornamental features of the Cathedral will be made as opportunity offers.

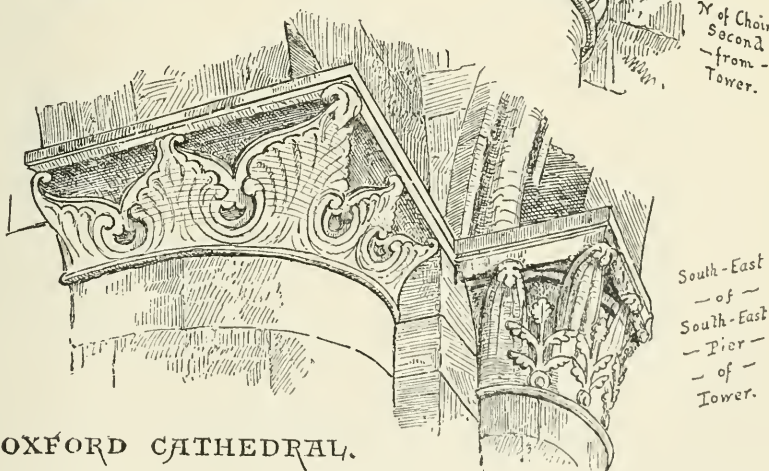
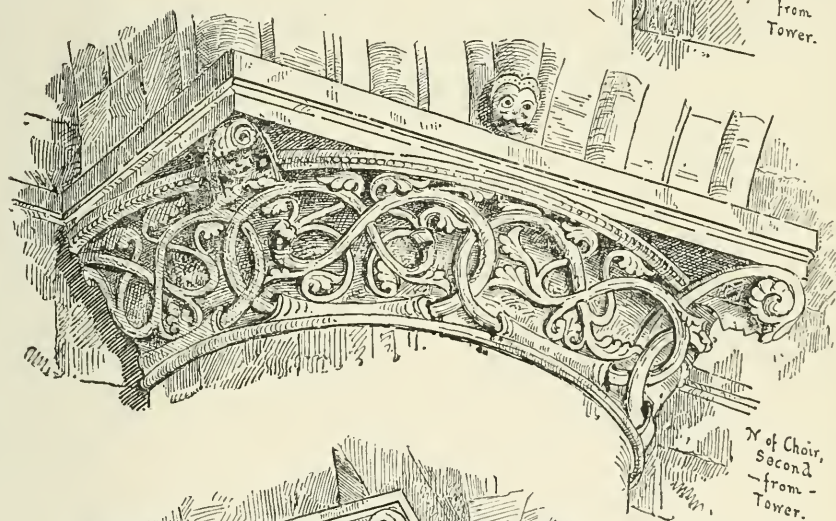
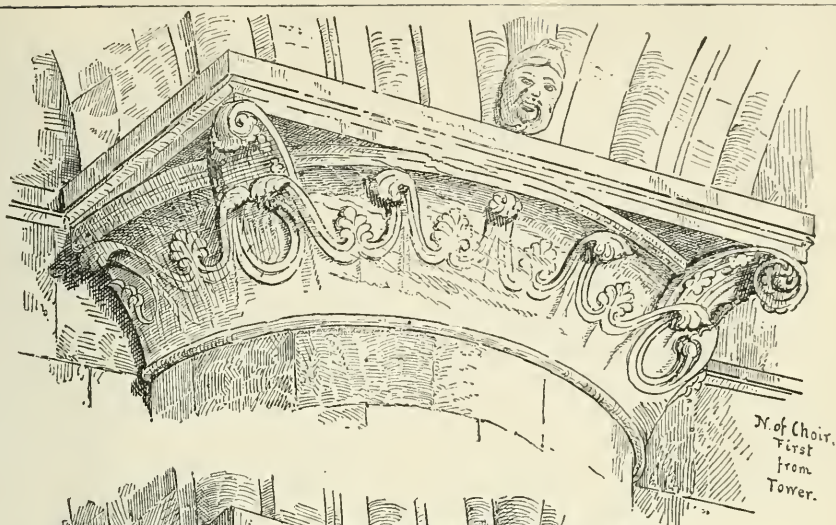
DESCRIPTION OF PLATES.

I.

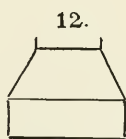
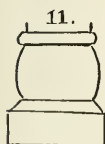
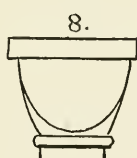
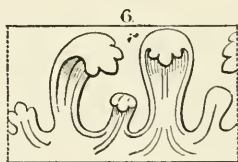
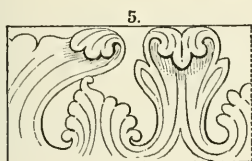
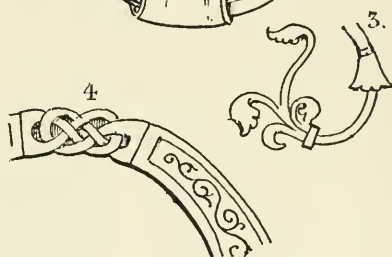
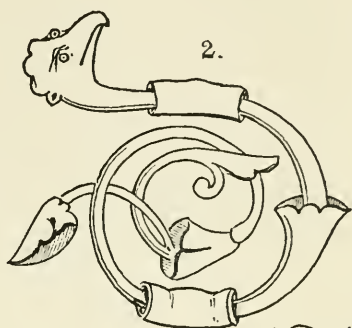
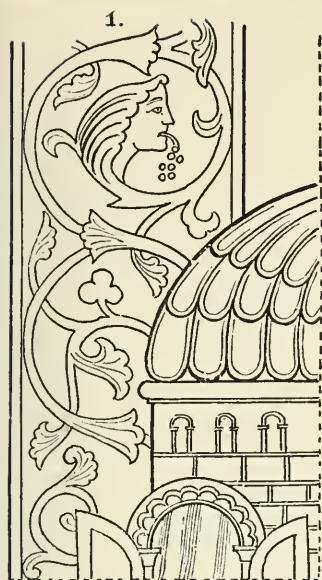
- Fig 1. Capital, north side of choir, Oxford Cathedral ; shewing stalks issuing from pipes.
2. Capital ornamented with acanthus leaves.
 3. Quarter-capitals at west end of south aisle of choir ; to illustrate break of joint, and inverted leaves.

II.

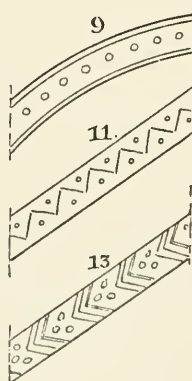
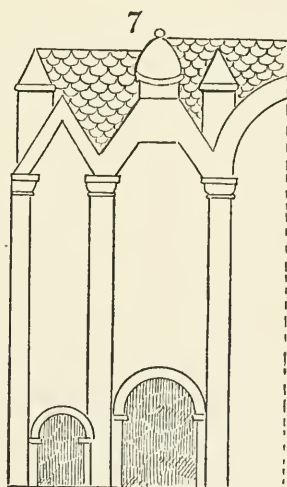
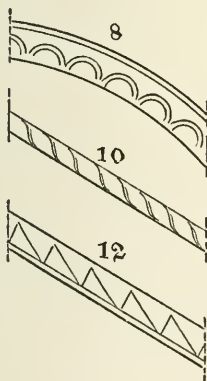
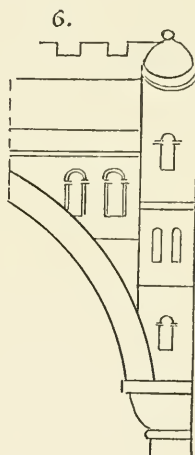
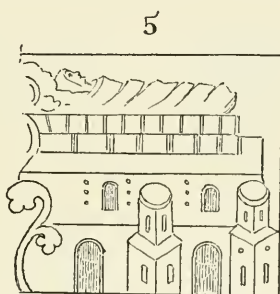
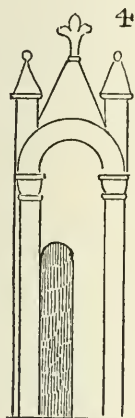
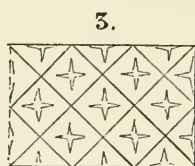
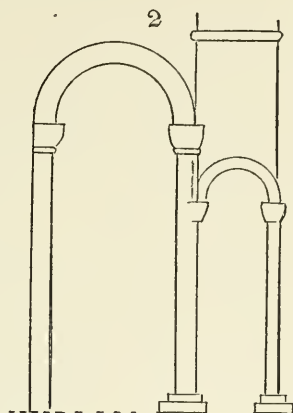
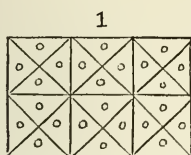
- Fig 1. Part of border and apse of church ; from M.S. Dunstan in B. M. shewing head dress formed of foliage, and an ornamented arch. No. x in list.
2. Initial letter from Vossianus. Bod. Stalks issuing from pipes viii.



OXFORD CATHEDRAL.



PRE-NORMAN ORNAMENT.



PRE-NORMAN ORNAMENT.

3. Part of Border. x.
4. Part of illuminated letter. xi.
5. Border of acanthus leaves. xv.
6. Ditto ditto ditto. xvi.
7. Foliated capital. vi.
8. Cushion do. vi.
9. Capital with inverted volutes. x.
- 10-13. Pre-Norman bases.
14. Base with two round mouldings. xvii.

III.

- Fig 1. Diaper No. vii.
2. Arch springing from half-capital. vii.
 3. Diaper. vi.
 4. Square turrets, and tall doorway. vi.
 5. Sacred cradle in form of church. vi.
 6. Part of church with round turret. xii.
 7. Section through church. vi.
 8. Ornament on arch. x.
 9. Ditto. x.
 10. Cable ornament. vi.
 11. Zigzag pattern. xiii.
 12. Saw-tooth ornament. vi.
 13. Chevron ditto.

ON EARLY METHODS OF BELL-FOUNDING.¹

BY THE REV. CANON RAVEN, D.D.

The earliest instructions in bell-founding that I can find appear to be those contained in the third book of the *Essay of Theophilus on Various Arts*. Mr. Hendrik, who edited the work for Mr. Murray in 1847, considers it to belong to the early half of the eleventh century. It is remarkable that the use of crooks here laid down does not appear in the other treatises to which I shall have to refer. I have not the book at hand, but I have transcribed the part which refers to "crooking," and runs as follows:—

"Compositurus campanam primum incidet tibi lignum siccum de quercu, longum secundum quod vis habere campanam, ita, ut ex utraque parte extra formam emineat longitudine unius palmi, et quadrum in una summitate grossius, in aliam gracilius et rotundum, ut possit in foramine circumvolvi. Sitque deductim (? deductum) grossius et grossius, ut cum opus fuerit perfectum facile possit educi. Quod lignum in grossiori parte una palma ante summitatem incidatur in circuitu, ut fiat fossa duobus digitis lata, sitque lignum ibi rotundum, juxta quam fossam summitas ipsius ligni fiat tenuis, ut in aliud lignum curvum jungi possit, per quod valeat in modum runcinæ circumverti. Fiant etiam duo asseres longitudini et latitudini æquales qui altrinsecus conjungantur et confirmentur quatuor lignis, ita ut sint ampli (ampla in cod.) inter se secundum longitudinem prædicti ligni; ut in uno assere fiat foramen in quo convertatur rotunda summitas et in altero e contra æqualiter fiat incisura duobus digitis profunda, in qua volvatur rotunda incisura. Quo facto, sume ipsum lignum et circumpone ei argillam fortiter maceratam, imprimis duobus digitis spissam, qua diligenter siccata, suppone ei alteram, sicque facies donec forma

¹Read, in part, in the Architectural Section at the Norwich Meeting, August 9th, 1889.

compleatur quantam eam habere volueris, et cave ne unquam superponas argillam alteri nisi inferior omnino sicca fuerit. Deinde colloca ipsam formam inter asseres superscriptos, et sedente puero qui vertat, cum ferris, ad hoc opus aptis, tornabis eam sicut volueris et tenens pannum in aqua madefactum eam æquabis."

Next in order come directions found in a treatise by Walter of Odyngton, a monk of Evesham, in the time of Henry III.¹

This manuscript, which through Archbishop Parker's care escaped the destruction attending on the Dissolution of the Monasteries, is No. 410 in his collection at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. Mr. Lewis considers the copy to have been made in the fifteenth century. The Chapter on bells, headed in red ink, *De symbolis faciendis*, contains only eleven lines of text, and is to the following effect (recto of f. 17):

"Ad simbola facienda tota vis et difficultas extat in appensione ceræ ex qua formantur et primo sciendi quod quanto densius est tintinnabulum tanto acutius sonat tenuius vero gravius. Unam appensam ceram quantamlibet ex qua formandum primum cimbelum divides in octo partes et octavam partem addes tantæ ceræ sicut integra fuit, et fiet tibi cera secundi simbali. Et cetera facies ad eundem modum a gravioribus inchoando. Sed cave ne forma interior argillæ cui aptanda est cera alio mutetur, ne etiam aliquid de cera appensa addat ad spiramina, proinde et ut quinta vel sexta pars metalli sit stannum purificatum a plumbo, reliquum de cupra similiter mundato propter sonoritatem. Si autem in aliquo deficeris, cum cote vel lima potest rectificari."

He begins by saying that for making bells, the whole difficulty consists in estimating the models from which they are formed, and first in understanding that the thicker a bell is, the higher is its note, and the reverse. From the use of the word "cera" for a model, some might be inclined to infer that the bells of that time were cast in moulds formed by wax models, but no such instances are known to exist in England. When a bell is to be made, a core or central block is first formed, to which is fitted a model, or "thickness" of the bell that is to be. Outside

¹ Summus fratris Walteri monachi Eveshamie musici de speculatione musica.

the model comes the cope. These models seem to have been made at one time from wax. When complete, the outer earth, forming a cope, was rammed tightly round them. A fire was lighted, and the melted wax allowed to escape, the cavity being afterwards filled by the metal from the furnace. There was an easy way of ornamenting the outer earth, or cope, by laying on the model extra strips of wax in the form of letters, &c., which would have their imprint lighted on the cope. We have no instances of this kind in England, nor does there seem any probability of such a discovery. Mr. Lynam, in his *Church Bells of Staffordshire* (plates 3a and 3b), gives an interesting and well-executed drawing of what appears to be an inscription thus formed, from a bell at Fontenailles in Normandy, dated 1211, but he tells us nothing more about it. He also mentions similar lettering at Moissac, with the date 1273, recorded by Viollet le Duc. Our earliest inscriptions are set in separate letters, each in its own patera; and this would be impracticable, save by stamping the cope itself. In castings from wax models the cope is inaccessible. Hence we conclude that loam models were used in England while these instructions remained in the letter.

He proceeds to expound the estimation of the wax models of a ring of bells.

Starting with any given "model," for the first bell you take nine-eighths of it as a "model" for the second bell, and so on. If you start from the heavier bells and work on to the lighter ones you must use a like method, i.e., let each "model" be eight-ninths of the previous one. But take care lest the core to which the "model" is to be fitted be changed in a different proportion. Take care also that none of your allotted "model" get itself into the breathing holes. Then he gives directions about the metal—a fifth or sixth part of the metal to be tin purified from lead, and the rest copper, similarly cleansed, for sonorousness. Lastly, contemplating the abominable noise which would be sure to arise from these handiworks he says that if you fail in any point it can be set right with a whetstone or a file, of which the former would be used for sharpening purposes, grinding away the rim of the bell, and the latter for flattening, filing off the inner surface of the sound-bow.

Let us then imagine Walter of Odyngton attending to his own instructions. He starts by allotting a certain amount of wax for his first bell, makes his core by rule of thumb answerable to it, and then weighs both. By weight he gets his wax for the other bells, on the nine-eights system. The whole method is so obviously empiric that there is no ground for wonder at the necessity for burin, whetstone, hard chisel, file or any other tuning apparatus. Indeed the free use of these instruments may account for the almost total disappearance of bells of the Saxon and Norman periods.

We are next to consider an improved method. Unfortunately no date can be assigned to it. It is a little prose tract (c. 11.), appended to an early poem called *Ars Musica*. The poem itself is attributed to Gerbertus Scholasticus, afterwards Pope Sylvester II., and if this be right we are carried as far as the poem is concerned beyond the Norman Conquest. But the chapter in which we are interested belongs to a much later time. It seems as though the unknown writer had known of Walter of Odyngton's method, had seen that his nine-eights made no difference between tones and semitones, and to have thus supplied a more workable plan :—

Should any one wish to regulate the sound of bells like that of organ-pipes he should know that thicker bells, like shorter pipes, have a higher note. But one must be careful in the weighing of the wax from which they are formed. He then proceeds to designate the various bells in a ring by letters :—

The first, A.
 The second, B.
 The third, C.
 The fourth, D.
 The fifth, E.
 The sixth, F. and
 The eighth G.

It is needless to say that the absence of the mention of a seventh is very perplexing, and not at all to be accounted for by the first and eighth being in unison. Perhaps some master of mediæval music can solve the mystery. I am content to record the instruction as I find it.

B is formed from A, and C from B on Walter of Odyngton's nine-eighths system. But to get D, which is a "semitonium" from C, you take four-thirds of A. Then E is formed from D, and F from E on the nine-eighths system, but G from D (there being a "semitonium" between G and F) by taking four-thirds. It may be that the text requires emendation, but I am not bold enough to touch it.

The MS is Rawlinson c 720, in the Bodleian Library, and the passage, as follows, occurs on f. 13, recto and verso :—

"Sonitum Tintinnabulorum si quis rationabiliter juxta modum fistularum organicarum facere voluerit scire debet quia sicut fistule breviores altiolem sonum habent quam longiores, ita et unumquodque tintinnabulum quantum superat densitate alterum tantum excellit et sono. Quod caute providendum est in appensione ceræ qua formantur. Ad primum autem quod est A littera quali volueris pondere ceram appende, dividesque illam ipsam ceram æque in octo partes, ac recipiat sequens, B videlicet, ejusdem appensionis iterum octo partes alias, addita insuper nona parte. Illasque novem partes in unum collige, dividesque in octo, recipiat tertium quod est C. eadem appensione octo alias partes, addita etiam parte nona ejusdem ponderis. Tunc primi appensionem divide in tres partes, supereturque a quarto quod est D quarta parte, hoc est semitonium. Item divides quartum in octo supereturque a quinto quod est E. nona parte, dividesque similiter quintum in octo et recipiat sextum quod est F nonam partem amplius. Quartum nichilominus in tres partes æque appensum ab octavo quod est G superetur quarta parte, hoc est semitonium."

According to my calculation the models of the seven bells would be in this ratio

A	8
B	9
C	10·125
D	10·6
E	12
F	13·5
G	14·2

These calculations, though probably derived from Theophilus, do not seem altogether his ; and though there are apparently no children of the *cire perdu* method remaining in England, and very few on the Continent, it is yet possible that a sequence of two or three may be found, to be compared practically with these various written directions.

ON THE NORMAN FONT IN THE CHURCH OF ALL SAINTS, TOFTREES, NORFOLK.

By J. E. BALE.

The Saxon name indicates what the place then was ; and still it is, only houses situated among trees, with the fine woods of Raynham, adjacent, and rich pastures around. The situation is peaceful and beautiful, and its houses have been mostly tenanted by the same families of the past four or five generations.

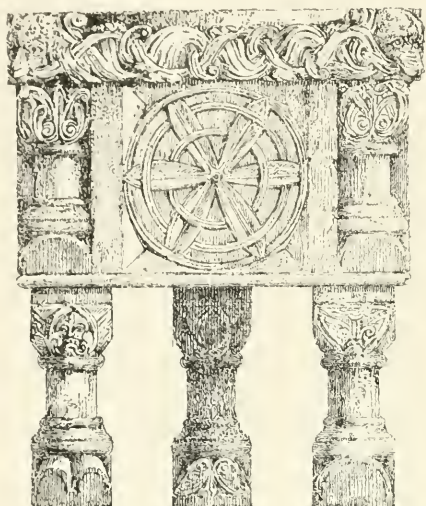
The church dedicated to All Saints, possesses one bell, it is valued as a Vicarage at £200 a year, and it is also a Deanery, so says the Directory, and little else is locally known.

The existing fabric has a nave and chancel, and a western tower, minus the belfry storey ; the architectural features comprise transition Early English, to the Perpendicular period. Its Anglo-Saxon origin is shown by the rude "ashlar" stone work, mostly unwrought, of the exterior angles of the nave and portions of the lower walling. The present nave is probably the extent of the Saxon Church. The stone ashlar is the brown kind locally known as "Car Stone," found round about Hillington towards Lynn, and there still popular as a building stone ; it was in Saxon days easily brought by water down the river Wensum which passes Toftrees at Shereford about two miles off, where there is a church with a round tower, built like Tofts Church in flint rubble, and ashlar of this brown stone, obviously much of it Saxon work also.

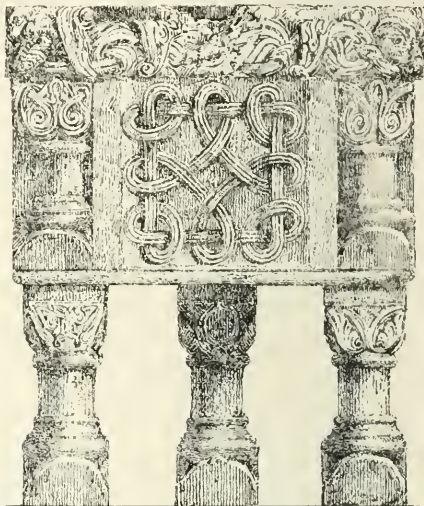
The Norman period is evidenced by its fine well-preserved Baptismal Font. The sacred use of the font induced the best art and materials obtainable to be bestowed on it, and was a chief reason why the original, or old font was not replaced by another when churches were altered or rebuilt in succeeding styles. The north door of the nave is round headed and of oak, encrusted externally with lichens and moss, the hinges being corroded almost to nothing ; it may be a Norman door. The church appears never to have been larger than its present small size, and its enclosure or burial ground abutted up to the N.E. angle of the boundary of a former fortified mansion or castle of considerable extent. The moat, of which part still survives as a pond, can be traced from the S.E. angle of the churchyard in an approximate square to the S.W. angle of the enclosure. The site of the gate with flanking towers is distinguishable on the west side, the place of the drawbridge being filled in with debris to facilitate the carrying out of the building materials, which, from traces of extensive foundations must have been of great extent.

The trees in the meadow to the westward still mark the former avenue of approach, though irregular as if grown from seedlings ; the existing

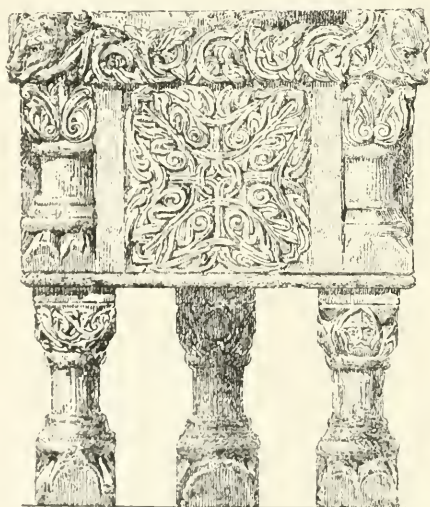
FONT IN TOFT TREES CHURCH,
NORFOLK.



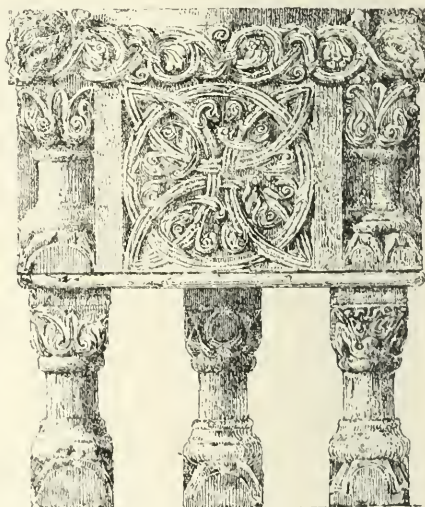
EAST SIDE



NORTH SIDE



SOUTH SIDE



WEST SIDE

Elizabethan house near the church is the probable successor of this moated mansion, and is an excellent example of the architectural use of local materials. It was the manorial residence of the family living there before the property was absorbed into the Raynham estate, and a mural monument, in the chancel of the church, sets forth in sixteenth century Latin, that some of the family rest there. On the chancel floor is a large stone slab from which the brasses have been robbed, but the matrix of the long foliated arms, and of the inscription round the border of the stone are still legible. The church was repaired in the third decade of the last century, but as it now is, it is picturesque, having escaped modern restoration. Within a radius of two and a half miles are ten churches, two in ruins, and the sites of two ecclesiastical buildings, one being the abbey at Hempton by Fakenham on the Wensum. Thus Toftrees was within an important ecclesiastical centre. A sketch of the west end of Toftrees church nave shews the font as it stood some thirty years ago, before it was carefully cleaned of its incrustation of whitewash by the late vicar Mr. Barlow; it is observable the floor of this part of the church is lowered from eight inches to a foot by successive modern burials therein, which caused displacements of the font and destruction of its original base which together with spare debris of various kinds was carried out and the floor replaced in economic form, and in one of such burials the font seems to have been upset, the lower part of the bowl fractured, and other damage done to it; it was set up again on the floor, but not used, for until the late vicar's time a basin only was employed.

Of the font, its Anglo-Celtic identity is obvious, and the systematic way church workmen travelled in co-operation from the earliest times makes it probable that other and similar reproductions of Anglo Celtic work are still extant in this country. In plan it is a square with a circular bowl inside, nearly flat at the bottom; it stands on five short pillars with their respective caps and bases, the centre pillar containing the drain pipe. At each angle of the bowl is a three-quarter round pillar with cap and base. On each face are square panels; that to the east has three circles inscribed in succession from the centre, interlacing with radial leaves; on the north face are the square and lozenge knots interlaced, boldly relieved. On the south is an elaborate leaf-like pattern—composed of two strands, which interlaced with a circle at the centre, and from the vertical and horizontal limbs of a Greek cross, and a cross saltire in intricate interlacements, making a rich foliaceous pattern, freely executed. On the west is the best piece of work in geometric pattern, a circle, of three strands and four semi-circles each of three strands are interlaced, successively and in detail, the strands or thongs being of equal and regular lengths, the ends are twisted round the remaining strands at that part of the pattern, and terminate in leafy scrolls forming integral, and graceful features in the design, which is rendered with great freedom and flexibility of effect. At three of the upper corners of the bowl is a lamb's head realistically treated, and at the fourth corner is "the wolf in sheep's clothing," an expressively caricatured head. A deep string of boldly designed and freely executed, leafy interlacement extends along the upper part of the bowl developing from, and emerging into each of the heads at the angles, and of different pattern on each face of the bowl. Every cap of the columns is varied in design, the Celtic variety predominates and blends harmoniously with the recognised Norman details. The

whole is evidently from the hand of one skilled art workman, who developed his power as the work progressed up to the limits of the material, and as far as the nature of the tools used would permit.

Of the tools it is clear the scappling hammer and small axe were the chief, perhaps the only ones; no chisel working is apparent, and such tools would cause a stimulus to inventive genius, for a plain surface and a straight line is obviously the more difficult to produce by a monotonous slow process, yet the three-fourth round modeling at the base of the bowl is exactly true and cleanly cut, showing mechanical skill together with artistic excellence in the whole work.

Extracts from Joseph Anderson's work, "Scotland in Early Christian Times: the Art of the Monuments."

"An extraordinary elaboration and finish of minute details of ornament; and a striving after symmetry without mathematical exactitude of repetition, is conspicuous in each of the parts of the patterns separately, as well as in the composition of the decoration as a whole. These also are the prevailing characteristics of the art of the Celtic manuscripts and metal work, characteristics which are visible in every decorated page, and are so persistent in Celtic decoration of every kind that they must be held to be essential qualities of the art. In the possession of these qualities, therefore, as well as in the style and manner of its composition, the decoration of these monuments is completely like that of the Celtic manuscripts and metal work, and totally unlike that of all other monuments."

" Some of the best manuscripts are as early as the close of the seventh century, while the best stone and metal work is later, and comes close to the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The natural inference is, therefore, that the art was perfected by the scribes before it was adopted generally by the sculptors and jewelers."

In this connexion it may be well to add the experience of the writer in tracing out a pattern or endeavouring to replace missing parts, that is, to model or make it in similar material to that suggested on the monument, such as cordage or thongs of leather, raw hide preferred, as it is readily laid in shape, and dries in permanent form. This process especially applies to interlacements, and makes the best model for the modern stone carver.

The date of the Toftrees font is approximated as early Norman from its general shape, and the Celtic ornament is an example of early transition from the "interlacement" to foliaceous Celtic art, admirably shown in the west panel of the font.

Anderson further observes, "It was a common form of decorative ornament applied to many and various purposes, in different parts of Europe, Asia, and Africa, both before and after the time when, in this country and in Ireland, it became one of the prevailing and dominant characteristics of Celtic art. But, while it was thus used by other people as an occasional element of decoration, or as a style of ornament suitable for special purposes, it was nowhere developed into a systematic style of art, applied alike to manuscripts, metal work, and stone work, unless in this country and in Ireland. In other words, it never gave a distinctive character to any art but Celtic art."

The wide spread influence of this Celtic feeling in art, is demonstrated by the art work of barbaric peoples, such as have probably descended from higher forms of civilization, or lost the touch of former civilized associations, as was noticed in the gold and metal work, especially of the Ashantees, exhibited at the Colonial and Indian Exhibition, West African section; and the writer, speaking from a quarter of a century's knowledge of these people, and the country, finds the most conclusive circumstantial proofs of their former intercourse with the ancient Egyptians and probably with Carthage.

In the Gothic architectural ornament the Norman and Early English periods are very rich in the Celtic elements of design in its later phases, less perceptible through the Decorated period, and scarcely identified or lost in the Perpendicular, but reappearing in burlesqued profusion in the Renaissance of the succeeding period. When men's minds went borrowing new ideas, it was not a revival; hence, not a survival of this form of art, but the study of ancient Celtic art is now commending itself to decorative artists, and art workmen; and "the closer the copy the better is the result." Jewelers applied to the Commissioner for the West African section, at the forenamed exhibition, to be allowed to copy examples of the Ashantee interlaced and spiral gold work. Modern monumental sculptors have essayed on a grand scale to reproduce Celtic forms of ornament, which, though good in workmanship, signally betray a want of knowledge in every detail, and often misconception of the design as a whole. Therefore so perfect an example of Celtic art as the Toftrees Font may be of practical value, enhanced by being made accessible to a great number of students and workers in Celtic art. At home the distance of Scotland or Ireland might be a consideration, besides an incentive to antiquaries and archæologists in seeking for similar examples of early ecclesiastical art workmanship that may exist, but hidden, in other parts of England.

THE UNPUBLISHED MATERIAL FOR A HISTORY OF THE COUNTY OF NORFOLK.

By WALTER RYE.¹

I do not think it would be possible to chose a more appropriate place in which to read a paper bearing this title, than the room in which we now are, whose owner, though not a professed antiquary, has been to extraordinary trouble and expense in collecting here every scrap of matter that has been printed or published relating to the county. Never since topographers began to collect books relating to the history of any one county, has (I venture to think), so complete a local collection been got together. After I had been collecting for some years, in the vanity of my heart I thought that my own collection for the county was a fairly good one; but when I saw this library for the first time I was fairly ashamed of my own, and I can undertake to say that there is hardly a tract, religious or otherwise, bearing, directly or indirectly, on this county that cannot be found on these shelves.

Everything finds a place here, whether the rare and privately printed book—the most scurrilous electioneering squib, or the printed brief and evidence relating to the most recent city litigation. The value of such a collection to the local antiquary cannot possibly be estimated; for it is easy enough to find out at all events here what has been published relating to any matter or thing belonging to our county. But my business here to day is with the documents which we shall *not* find in this library, viz.: the MS. sources for a history of Norfolk.

The subject of parish Registers is a tender one to approach. We Londoners, whose labours are often checkmated for the want of the sight of some particular register—whether it is that the parson can't or wont search for us—and whose pedigrees have grievous gaps because a former careless custodian has lost the only record that would tell us of our folk, naturally incline to the opinion that all registers should be sent up to London and kept in proper order in a proper fire-proof receptacle, and be available in five minutes without fee, instead of having to take a five hour journey and pay fees at the end of it.

Against this view I am often told that the clergy take an intelligent interest in the history of their parishes, and that it would be monstrous to deprive them of the opportunity they now have of leisurely studying their Church Registers.

¹ Read at Carrow Priory, at the Annual Meeting of the Institute, at Norwich, August 8th, 1859.

But I should like to ask how many of the clergy in this diocese do take an intelligent interest in this work? how many have written a line on the history of their parishes? Well, I have got the list for Norfolk and Norwich written out here and the number is well under a dozen, though there are something like 800 incumbents and I don't know how many curates.

How many of the parish Registers of Norfolk have been printed by the clergy? I will tell you, one, namely that of Elmham, by the Rev. A. Legge, and very well indeed has he printed it, with excellent notes and admirable indexes, an example many others should follow.¹ The only other Norfolk Register printed is that of Bircham Newton, which I have just issued. It, the register, was just going the way of most registers; it had gone astray, it was only a poor dirty looking little book, though it began in 1562, and was the only record of the place for nearly 200 years. It had got mixed up with the private papers of Dr. Miles Beever, one of the well known Norfolk family of that name, who was rector here in 1835. Years and years after it was found by his kinsman Sir Hugh Beever, who not only returned it, but first allowed me to have it copied and to print it, so that if it ever got lost again the loss would not so much matter. This I gladly and hastily did, so hastily in fact that I forgot to put on the title page the county in which Bircham Newton was situated. And so I drew on myself a mildly satirical remark from the *Athenæum* reviewer that I probably never realized the possibility that there could be any other county than Norfolk.

One city parish register [St. George Tombland], is now in the press, by Mr. Jay, but the greatest worker at registers is my very good correspondent the Rev. F. Procter, of Witton. He has transcribed no less than twenty-eight registers relating to the east coast of Norfolk, has indexed them, and then (more astonishing and excellent thing of all), has freely given them to our local Archæological Society for the use of his brother members.

Let me digress a little from the records to those who have worked at them, for there were other good workers before Mr. Procter. As to bye-gone workers we have had many and good.

Three hundred years ago Kemp was working hard in the county taking notes of all the heraldic bearings he could find, though (like two or three of his successors), he had a fine scorn of all who were not strictly entitled to bear arms by having previously paid for them to the College of Arms, of which he was so distinguished an ornament and agent, I might almost say traveller. Sir Henry Spelman wrote only in a general way; and the first real hard worker I have come across was another Knight, the worthy Sir Symonds D'Ewes, who tackled the wills in the Norwich Registry and produced a great thick folio vol. of notes from it, all indexed, which until quite recently, was the only attempt at a digest of the more important wills there.

But all other workers past and present, must give place to Peter Le Neve, who was simply a marvellously industrious and able man; with him there were no half-measures; he early realized that it was no use doing things by halves and whatever he did, he did very thoroughly.

¹ He has since been followed by the Rev. A. Michell who has just printed the register of Marham.

A native of this county, he worked most at its history, and it is to him that Blomefield owed nearly all his material. I have said elsewhere, and I adhere to it here, that if everyone had his rights our county history would be called Le Neve's and not Blomefield's History of Norfolk, just as the Monasticon is really Dodsworth's and not Dugdale's.

Still one must not deny the just praise due to Blomefield, whose industry was very great, whose noble disregard of trouble and expense was quite magnificent, and who literally died in harness from a fever he caught when coming up to London to see some records.

But still he was neither as able nor as hard a worker as Le Neve, some of whose work I will exhibit presently.

A mass of work partly by one and partly by the other, was through the good offices of Dr. Jessopp, recently secured for our local society, and when properly digested and indexed may be of great use to our grandchildren. Another portion of the same mass came into my hands and is calendared in the descriptive vol. I am now publishing, proofs of which are on the table.¹ Yet another is in the hands of one of the leading booksellers of this city, who in a very public spirited way is willing to sell it to our local Society for what he gave for it, some £20 or £30; but unhappily, we are 'very poor,' we have only £300 or £400 in hand lying idle at the Bank, and the powers that be cannot see their way to complete their series, and once more practically bring the three lost sheep into one fold.

Another hard worker was "Honest Tom Martin," who wrote the history of Thetford. A mass of church notes, &c., chiefly by him are in the Norris collections, now in my library. In one of them are four pages of a very amusing diary by Tom Martin, of a short antiquarian tour, beginning 29th August, 1756, from Palgrave to Bury, Newmarket, Cambridge, &c., *e.g.*, September 12th, "Sunday, din'd at Ixworth Woolpoeket, and Lay at Stanton Cock that night and ye next. Oh! how asham'd am I of such unaccountable proceedings."—In one of these excursions he was accompanied by Mr. Kerrieh.

Then Kirkpatrick (one of whose most valuable MSS. elucidating the history of the streets and lanes of this city turned up the other day among the Norris MSS. and is now being printed for our local Society),² Mackerell, and Kerrieh (whose grandson, Mr. Hartshorne is here to-day), were great collectors, but the greatest of all was Antony Norris whose literary executor I am proud to consider myself and whose collections were not even known to the most ardent Norfolk collectors till the other day. Unluckily he was one of those who spend their lives in laborious work and do not publish or print a line and so all their skilled labour is so much waste.

Some account of them, or rather of such of them as I have been able to secure, will be found in the catalogue to which I have before referred. He noted the Norwich Wills; no one ever has noted the wills of any county before. Here is an index I have compiled to the surnames in his notes and in those of D'Ewes and L'Estrange the very great bulk of which being Norris'. This collection by him of Norfolk armories I printed a year or two ago. This completed work covers a great slice of Eastern Norfolk—the Hundred of East and West Flegg, Happing, and Tunstead,

¹ It is since issued privately.

² Since published.

and a part of North Erpingham are described most minutely, and never in any county history have I seen so much absolutely new matter so carefully worked up. His collections of monumental inscriptions are most perfect. By a strange irony of fate his own monument in Barton Turf Church is the only monument in the church which is completely covered up by the organ! As compared with Blomefield or rather Parkins account of the same Hundreds the bulk of Norris is at least *ten* times as great, and nothing except Carthew's History of Launditch can for a moment compare with it.

Carthew was of a later generation, though older than any present worker, and his book—his one child as he rather pathetically describes it—is worthy of all praise. He has left no MSS. collections, however, of any note, so I need not dwell on him here.

L'Estrange, whose name is so familiar to many, was in many respects a very remarkable man. His industry was prodigious though his means and his opportunities were as few as Norris' were great, for Norris was a wealthy squire and L'Estrange a poor clerk. If he had a fault it was that he began too many things, and, of course, did not have time to finish them, but though I have only some of his MSS. I have eight thick folio volumes, of which not the least valuable is the Calendar of Norwich Freemen I printed after his death, and his voluminous notes of Norwich Wills.

Until very recently—with a few exceptions like Dr. Bensley and Mr. Beloe—both of whom know so much and produce so little, we have been very badly off for workers in the county, but since men like our President Dr. Jessop have been re-clothing the dry bones of history with flesh, by means of brilliant essays, more enthusiasm has been shown.

We have unearthed men like Mr. Greeny, who has a European reputation as an authority on brasses; Mr. Farrer, whose heraldic researches have been so laborious and so useful, Mr. Mark Knights, whose speculative history is so plausible and so interesting, Mr. Beecheno, Mr. Elwin, whose newly issued Dictionary of Heraldry, is already a standard work, and last, though very far from least, our worthy local secretary, Mr. Hudson. I don't think I am betraying any confidence when I say that six years ago, Mr. Hudson neither knew nor cared anything for antiquities. He took his degree *per saltum*. I never shall forget the surprise and delight with which all of us read his paper on the Stone Bridge.

It was so unlike its fellows, so new in its facts and so sparse in its quotations from Blomefield that I for one knew we had got a new man, who would very soon be at our head. Of his hard work on the early rolls and deeds of our city—in the course of which I may say he has discovered the only tithing roll in existence—we shall see more when it is printed, but I am sure those who are present will agree that if he keeps on as he has begun, we have, in Mr. Hudson, a man of whom the antiquaries of our county may justly be proud and whose reputation will out-live those of many who have printed more and thought less.

But I fear I have been very discursive and have been talking more of the workers and their collections than the mass of untouched matter which really forms material for a history of our County.

Of the parish registers I have spoken before, and even more interesting than they are the Subsidy Rolls; the de Banco Roll; the Fines; the

Inquisitions post-mortem, are all very interesting to the large class of men who are interested in framing the pedigrees of armigerous families, and to the smaller class who take a savage pleasure in picking holes in other people's pedigrees and detecting fudged work.

But to the student of history, and the man who honestly wants to know who were his forefathers, and does not care a straw whether his name was Bugg or Howard (the former being I may say infinitely the older surname of the two) the Subsidy Rolls are much more valuable.

They give us clues to relative sizes and population of towns, the rises and falls of commerce in market towns and manufacturing villages—the names of the obscure villagers—the nicknames now forgotten or corrupted and enable us to trace especially in our own county friendly invasions of other nations. Except for the Hundred of North Erpingham, some collections for the history of which are about to be issued, none of these Rolls have ever been printed for our county.

There is a splendid Roll for the year 1327, which, as I have said elsewhere, is a perfect post office directory of the period, containing references to 37,000 names, and if there were any public spirit in the county it should have been printed long ago. The Yorkshire Association has printed its West Riding roll for a later period, so why should not we? Our *Fines* are practically done. No other County can boast that there are complete printed and indexed calendars of its fines from Richard I, to Richard III, an elaborate printed analysis of Richard I, and John, and indexes nominum to the abolition of Fines and Reversions of this too, in spite of there being vastly more fines for Norfolk, than for any other County.

But they should all be gone through for field names, which occur but very rarely in Charters of so early a period.

Scattered all over the county in city safes, in noblemen's muniment rooms, and in parish chests are innumerable *Charters*. They too, should be annotated and indexed. No one knows of the interest and value of the information they contain. Take for example, two or three charters among the Dean and Chapter records, dated from 1257 to 1373, which refer to the sweet marsh and the *salt* marsh, at Rockland. We always have believed what geologists have told us—that the river here, in days gone by, was an arm of the sea; but this brings the fact home to us very emphatically, and leaves no shadow of a doubt. Then again, there is the case of the Monks of St. Benet, promising a herring rent to the Nuns of this very Abbey of Carrow, which, I believe, points to the same thing viz., that both rivers were arms of the sea in comparatively recent times.

Talking of St. Benet's, I may also point out, that among the Norris collection are views of St. Benet's before the mill was on, of Castle Rising with the gatehouse still standing, of stained glass now smashed and merchant marks now gone.

But the object and intent of the few words I have said to-day, is to impress on all the necessity of making the vast masses of material the existence of which I have pointed out, available for students.

This can only be done by calendaring and indexing, especially by indexing.

Now, personally, I am an enthusiastic indexer, and really do not know any pastime more engrossing, or more amusing. Every one must have

a hobby, some collect insects and some postage stamps. Both pursuits are harmless, but unless a man is a real scientist, it is far better for him to spend his time making indexes, which are of use to many, than making collections which are of interest only to himself.

There are many ways of indexing. The old way was to begin by making twenty seven divisions on a sheet of paper or in a book, and putting the names down in their proper order, which is a very good way if you don't mind wasting paper, and (as soon as any one division is full), putting the sheet on one side and taking another. The advantage of this way is that when you have done your book, you have an alphabetical index ready to your hand, and are saved the trouble of sorting out the A's, B's, C's, &c. Also you have during the progress of the work an Index which you can consult from time to time for what it is worth. Yet as a matter of fact I have never been able to satisfy myself whether this way is quicker than simply writing out the names one after the other just as they come, as fast as you can, and then cutting them up, sorting and pasting them in. Of course anyone whose time is of any value, and who can afford it, will nowadays set a type-writer to work to do the mechanical work, and sort and paste in himself, and then if of a luxurious turn of mind, have the lot uniformly re-type-written, as in the specimens I have here open for inspection.

You will observe that in having indexes copied I have taken care to begin on a fresh page with each letter, so that I can arrange all the A's together, all the B's together and so on. These, being kept in a spring backed case, can be opened up and any fresh index added. For rapidity and convenience of reference this is very convenient. So is the somewhat barbarous little volume I have here, to form which I have ruthlessly mutilated a copy of nearly every book with which I have had to do. All their indexes are bound together in one volume, and this too saves an immense time usually wasted in taking down book after book.

NOTE ON A BOAT FOUND AT ALBERT DOCK, WOOLWICH.¹

By F. C. J. SPURRELL.

In 1878, while excavating the mound for the construction of the Albert Dock at North Woolwich on the Thames a boat was found in fairly good preservation. Its situation with respect to the soils in which it lay and its peculiar shape make it worthy of description. In a former account, I described the surface of the upper layer of peat, or more properly the ancient ground on which trees grew in abundance, as the surface of land on which the Romans lived and died; at this very spot.

Now, I exhibit a section of the ground shewing that in the peat layer a stream (freshwater) had excavated a small channel; that this stream was accustomed to carry boats is evident, because in its own mud and not in the peat itself, a boat was found. The surface of the peat was the shore of that day, and the existence of the stream must have belonged to the later part of the period which was occupied in the accumulation of the trees' growth and their *debris*. Therefore the stream was apparently in full run about 1700 years ago. And the boat apparently belongs to that age. Since the boat was lost the deposit of tidal mud had almost obliterated any sign of the channel.

The "dug out" or canoe is of oak, in a single piece and free from knots. It was carefully worked and no sort of clumsiness can be detected in its form. The form is regular and was evidently planned to measure. The dimensions I give are probably less than the original ones, because they were not taken until the boat was nearly dry, and considerable shrinkage has since distorted the partially decayed wood, the whole being somewhat lessened, and the contraction of the thicker masses tearing the thinner parts asunder. All the originally clean lines of the carpenter have also suffered considerably.

The extreme length from bow to bow (for both ends are, or were, exactly alike) was 17 feet, the width outside abeam between 24 and 25 inches, which was all the same with the exception of the last 12 inches of either end; these sloped inwards 8 inches, the end being not rounded but straight and 8 inches wide.

The bottom was flat and the sides also, and rectangular. The thinnest part of the sides is little more than half an inch above, nearly three inches below where it unites with the bottom. The bottom thins to less than two inches at the middle. There is a peculiar arrangement at each end, perhaps constituting a raised seat. There is no keel, no ribs or stretchers at the bottom, and no marks for rowlocks. But no paddles were found. The boat is now in the British Museum.

¹ Read at the Monthly Meeting of the Institute, Dec. 6th, 1888.

Original Documents.

Contributed by J. BAIN, F.S.A., Scot.

I am not aware that any thing of so early a date as the following has been printed in any of the books relating to the affairs of the Borders. The orders as to watches in Bishop Nicolson's *Laws of the Marches* and Hodgson's *Northumberland*, are not of earlier date than the reigns of Edward VI or Elizabeth. The first of the following documents, though without a date, must have been written in the end of November 1542, under these circumstances. The Earl of Hertford, who was Lord Warden of the Marches for a short time till relieved by John Dudley Lord Lisle, was ordered by Henry VIII to bring back with him a note of the Border laws and customs, &c., of which he being a stranger, knew little, and therefore wrote to Wriothesley the Secretary of State, doubting if he could procure it.

He had, however, applied for such a thing to Sir William Eure, the Captain of Berwick, who on 3rd December, 1542, sent Hertford this very document or "book" as he calls it. It is a copy of several earlier orders made in the years 1525-6, when Eure himself was Lieutenant of the Middle Marches, under Ralph, Earl of Westmoreland the Lord Warden. The names of many of the places are far different from those they now bear, and a better acquaintance with the district than I possess is requisite for their identification. It is written in a good round legal hand, and endorsed: "A boke sent by Sir William Eure of the custume of the Bordres."

The other document is a list of the watches kept on Tweed in Norhamshire, and was evidently made for Hertford's information about the same time as the former paper. It is in the handwriting of Brian Layton, Captain of Norham Castle, who was killed two years later, at Ancrum moor.

Both of these documents are indorsed by Sir John Thynne. They are among his papers at Longleat, and are now printed for the first time by the kind permission of his descendant the Marquis of Bath.

TH'ORDOUR OFF THE WATCHE TO BE OBSERVED, KEPTE, AND MAINTENED
IN MANOUR AND FORME FOLLOWING.

The watche to stond upon the Doughins.	} Fyrst-the larde off Thirwale to kepe from Iirthing bryg tyll yt cum to Typwall. The larde of Blenkensoppe to kepe from Typwall to Walltowne Crag.
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The watch- mantostond upon the Walle townne Crage.	}	The larde of Walltowne and Nicholas Blenkinsopp to kepe the Walltowne Crage to Haltwissell bornhede.
The watch- mantostond upon the Caire Crage.		The townshipe off Haltwysell and Plennellour to kepe from Haltwysell bornhede to the Hare heugh.
The watch- mantostond on the Hare heugh.	}	The Townshipe off Melryg and Hensaugh to kepe from the Hare heugh to Heleborne hede.
The watch- mantostond upon the Kykkyns of Bradleis.		The townshipe off Thorngraston Mylnehorne and Rideley to kepe from the Heleborne hede knage to the Knage bornhede.
Two watch- men, one of them to stonde upon the Kynges hyll, and thother upon Few- inglesCrage.	}	The barronry off Langley to kepe from Knage bornhede to the Cairrawe.
Two men to watche upon the Carrawe towre hede.		The townshipe off Newburgh with the parishing from Carrawe to the Carraburgh.
Two watch- mentostond upon the Wallwood.	}	The barronry off Symondeborne to kepe from Carraburgh to Tortie.
Two watch- mentostond at Priest Yate.		The townshipe off Haughton Walleck and Homeshaulghe to kepe from Tortie to Chellerford mylne.
Two watch- mentostond at Sainte Oswaldes Kerek.	}	The townshipe off Aycombe and Walle to kepe from Cheller- ford Mylne to Saint Oswaldes Kirke.
Two watch- men to stonde at Smydiwell Crosse.		The townshipe off Sando, Aynyke, Portyate, and Befront to kepe from Saint Oswaldes Kirke to Smyddywell Crosse.
Two watch- men to stonde at Portyate.	}	The townshipe off Corbreg to kepe from Smyddywell Crosse to Halton parke newke.
Two watch- men to stonde on the Hawle downes.		The Lordeshipe off Halton to kepe from Halton parck newke to Carnabye Crosse.
Two watch- mentostond on Grene Castell Stedes on the Walle.	}	The townshipe off Newtoun, Newton hall, Weldon and Harlower on the hyll to kepe from Carnaby Crosse to Harlow on the hyll.

It is further agreed that all thes townshippes that hereafter ensueth shall kepe a watchman in every towne as they shall thyncke by thear discrecion, to reyse a blast off an horne when so ever yt shall falle, as well upon the days as nyghtes to cum forewarde to maigtayne the fray, which way so ever yt goo :—Fyrst, in the township of Knaresdale, Henry Walles the pryoresse off Lameley tenantes, Syr Edward Musgrav, tenauntes of Colyngwood, the larde of Fetherstonehaughe, the lordeship off Whytfield, the lordeshippe off Allwendale in Hexham shire, Hexham towne with the lord of Colsey and his tenauntes, Dilstoune township Cutbert Radecliff, the township of Redyng, Bromley, and Bywell, the township of Ovington, Ovingham, and Horsley. It ys also thought necessary and expedient for thinviolable observacion off the premisses, that the Wardane lyvetenauntes or their deputies shall every vj wekes kepe a Cowrt by them sellves to see this ordinaunces put in full execution, and raise the same fyne of them that shall breake the same, under such payne as my lorde off Richmountz grace shall sett upon the Wardane lyvetenaunte or their deputies.

Moreover yt ys agreed by the gentylmen off Northumberland afore my lorde Wardane, that this endentewre and every article off the same shall contignew in effect untill Whytsonday next comyng after the date under wrytten. And further yt ys ordayned by the saide lorde Wardane that his cowrt shall be kept at Newburghe and Corbreg within every fortie daies unto the said feast of Whytsontyde for execucion comprised in this present indenture. In wytnes wherof as well the saide lorde Wardane as the gentylmen being here present have setto their handes. Yoven the Monday after Saynt Lucyes day which is the xvijth day of Decembre anno xvij^{mo} Henrici Octavi.—[1525.]

Rawffe Westmerlonde Warden	}	Cutbert Ratclyff	}
Sr Willm Eure		Hewghe Rideley	
Sr Nicholas Rideley		Thomas Eryngton	
		John Swynborne	

A watche and ordre devysed by Syr William Eure lyvetenaunt of the Myddell Marchies off Englonde by thadvyse of dyverse gentyllmen of the contre the xxth day of Apryle the xvijth yere of Kyng Henry theight. [1526].

Fyrste :—a watch to begyn at the Carraw and so to Warkes pyke, from Warkes pyke to Warkes borne mowthe, and so to Prystoppes hedde, and so to Fowre lawys and in a bow ray through Arwood and to Baldwell stene at Symondsye.

The gentyllmen that shall kepe this watche—

Sr John Heron knyghte	Cuthbert Shaftow
Sr Rawfe Fenwyke	John Fenwyk of Ryall
Nycholas Thornton esquier	Georg Fenwyk of Fenwike
John Fenwyke of Wallyngton	Nycoll' off Eryngton of [blank]
Robert Ramys	Robert Eryngton of Wyttyngton
Robert Aynsley	William Swynborn of Capethton
Thomas Lawson	Rawff Wetheryngton
John Loren of Kyrkharlle	Thomas Eryngton of Fallofeld
Thomas Fenwyk of Lyttle Harle	for Coklaw and Eryngton.

Also the baylyff of Hexham ys agreed to kepe such lyke order in Hexham shire as well watching as folowing as other of the contre dothe.

An ordour taken for watchis the xiiij day off Decembere the xvij yere of the reign of our sovereigne lorde king Henry viijth, Sir William Eure being then lyutenant of the Myddell Marchies. [1525.]

Fyrst:—Secret watches to be leyd by the discession off them that shalbe baylyves or kepers of Tyndall—that is to say one upon the west syde of the watour off Tyne for in commying at the Belles and downe Shulborne mowre, and an other upon thest syde of Tyne for commying in at Lusborne mowth and downe Wanehope, and also an other for commying in at the Collercleves and so downe Emlope. Also for Ryddisdale and Kowkdale by the discession of them that shalbe kepers of Harbottell, a secret watch to be layde at Akynsyd hede for commying down the wattour off Reyd and the Haukeshauke. Also a watch at Crokdom pyke for commying in at Camellspeth streate and the hedd of Redles.

Also a watch at the Wether Law for commying in at the Howen gate and the Slyngate.

Also a watch upon the Helo (?) which may kepe the in commying at the Wend goyle and the Kocklaw and the Bownd rode hedde - - -

Also for the watour of Bremmys and the watour of Aeale must be two watterches. And thes two watches with the watterches aforesaid may kepe all alongst the Borders from the great hyll off Chevoyth to the hedd off the watour off Tyne - - -

(2) WATCHES IN NORHAMSHIRE.

Memorandum:—Watches to be kept in the nyght in Norhamshyer by my lorde Wardens comandment, as here after foluyth:—

Inprimis, at Berwyk stremes,	- ij men	} Summa xxviii men.
Item, at the Nayder belles	- ij men	
Item, at the Over belles	- ij men	
Item, at Yarfforde	- ij men	
Item, at Newwatter	- ij men	
Item, at Wylsford	- ij men	
Item, at the Darnesford	- ij men	
Item, at Sweffte	- ij men	
Item, at Damesfordes	- ij men	
Item, at Graydensforde	- ij men	
Item, at Twysell brege	- ij men	
Item, at Fernyhawesford	- ij men	
Item, at Hetonmelneshford	- ij men	} Summa iiij men.
Item, at Corssford	- ij men	

Proceedings at Meetings of the Royal Archaeological Institute.

February 6th, 1890.

T. H. BAYLIS, Esq., Q.C., in the Chair.

Mr. J. L. ANDRÉ read a paper on "Burton Church, Sussex." The building has but little to recommend itself from a structural point of view, but contains several most interesting features—(1) a rood screen and loft; (2) a wall painting of a female saint crucified head downwards on a cross saltire; (3) an effigy of a lady 3ft. 6in. in length; and (4) a brass of a Dame Goring clad in a heraldic tabard instead of the usual mantle. From this lady were descended the two Gorings who played so conspicuous a part in the civil wars of the seventeenth century.

A vote of thanks was passed to Mr. André, whose paper is printed at page 89.

Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By the REV. DR. COX.—A vesica-shaped private seal of amber, mounted in a plain rim of silver, with a suspending loop attached. It was found in a stone coffin at Old Malton Priory. The lettering, somewhat rude Lombardic, shows it to be of the thirteenth century. The emblems engraved on the seal are a fish, a tree, a bird, and a lion. The legend runs thus, "Secretum signum fons piscis avis leo lignum." The material of the seal makes this example of an ecclesiastical seal of peculiar interest, and it is at present believed to be unique. Dr. Cox also exhibited various Romano-British articles of bronze, pottery, and bone, found in January last in Deepdale Cave, near Buxton, by Mr. M. Salt, as well as some relics of earlier inhabitants of this cavern.

March 6th, 1890.

THE EARL PERCY, F.S.A., President, in the Chair.

Mr. A. OLIVER read the following paper on "The Brass of Roger Thornton, in All Saints' Church, Newcastle-on-Tyne."

"The brass of Roger Thornton was originally placed on an altar tomb in the Church of All Saints', Newcastle. This church was destroyed in the year 1785. The brass was placed in the porch of the church when

it was rebuilt, and it remained there until the year 1851, when it was placed in the wall of the vestry, where it is at present.

"The upper portion of the tomb consisted of a wall finishing in a battlement, in front of which was an ogee arch, which terminated in a tower instead of a finial. Below the battlement were five niches and two figures of angels holding shields of arms. The ogee arch was crocketed, and was over the slab on which the brass was laid.

"Below the brass the front of the tomb was pannelled in five compartments, three of which were foliated arches, with shields of arms in the centre of each. The arms of the wife in this case are in the centre, and the husband's on either side.

"Bourne in his 'History of Newcastle'¹ gives the following account of the position the tomb occupied in the church:—

"The chantry of St. Peter is that waste place above the vestry opposite the tomb of Roger Thornton.

"This was founded by the said Roger de Thornton as appears from the license granted to the said Roger by King Henry IV. It was erected about the year 1411 that he might be prayed for while he lived, and his soul when he died, by a priest set apart for that purpose, together with the souls of his Father, Mother, and *Agnes*,² his wife, and also of his ancestors, and his children, and the whole company of faithful departed, as is mentioned in the King's grant to him. The chantry was of the yearly value of £6.

"In the windows towards the porch are some characters, one is like an] with an S through it, and there are other characters which are the Merchants' skin marks. It is a token that some Merchant was a benefactor to the church. I take it to be the skin mark of Roger Thornton, for the very same is in the chantry of St. Peter over against his tomb.'

"The brass of Roger Thornton is the only Flemish brass of the fifteenth century in this country. The figure of Roger Thornton is dressed in a long gown, which reaches to the feet, with full deep sleeves, buttoned at the throat, and a strap, from which a sword is suspended, is buckled round the waist. Two dogs are placed under the feet. The wife's figure shows a long sleeveless gown (with a high collar) which covers the feet. The sleeves of an underdress, buckled round the waist, may be seen at the wrist. On the head is worn a cap with long ends which fall below the shoulders, and below the buttoned collar of the gown is worn a plaited wimple. The heads of the figures are on cushions which are supported by angels. Each of the figures has below the feet seven light arches, each with the figure of a son or daughter under. The son's dress consists of gown with deep sleeves which reaches below the knee. The collar is loose, and a belt is worn round the waist. The daughter's dress is a loose gown with deep sleeves, secured round the waist by a belt. The hair is worn in plaits at the sides. A similar head-dress may be seen worn by the figure in the Representation of the Soul in the super-canopy. Beneath these figures is a running pattern similar to that on the outside. Over the principal figures are three pointed arches. The centre arch is groined, and instead of corbels the arches terminate in small balls. From these arches spring canopied compartments in two tiers, the lower centre compartment of

¹ "History of Newcastle," by Henry Bourne, 1736.

² She died this year as recorded on the brass.

which contains the Representation of the Soul held in a cloth by angels, and in the upper compartment the soul is seen placed on the lap of the Divine personage; angels with candles are placed on either side. The side compartments are similar in each case. In the lower compartment a figure holds a scroll, and angels with candles are on either side, and in the upper an angel is placed standing on a pedestal and playing a musical instrument, with smaller figures placed below. On either side of the principal figure (and also between them) are niches containing various Saints with their emblems. On the side next to Roger Thornton are the following: An Angel, St. Peter, St. John the Evangelist, St. Thomas, St. Matthew, St. Bartholomew, and another Saint. On the side next to the wife, an Angel with pot and sprinkler—St. Paul, St. James the Great, St. James the Less, St. Andrew, St. Philip, and St. Matthias. Between the figures and the inscription is a row of figures in monks' habits, no doubt having reference to Newminster Abbey to which he and his wife were great Benefactors. Between the principal figures are the following Saints: The Blessed Virgin and Child, St. John the Baptist, St. Catharine, St. Barbara, St. Agnes, St. Mary Magdalene and St. Lawrence. The inscription, which wants the usual concluding sentence, is divided by small shields bearing the arms singly, at the sides, and quarterly, at the top and bottom of Thornton, and his wife. The Evangelistic symbols are at the corners.

The inscription is as follows:—

✠ Hic jacet domicella agnes quodam uxor rogeri thornton que obiit in ugelia sancte katerine anno domini mcccix propicietur deus amen.

✠ Hic jacet rogerus thornton meatu nobi castrî super tinam qui obiit anno dni millesimo ccccix et iii die janaii.

"In Dugdale's *Monasticon* is the following entry, p. 917, vol. ii., with reference to benefactors of New Minster:—"On the Day of the Circumcision, as on the brass, died Roger de Thornton, Burgess of Newcastle, and Lord of Witton, which same built a wall and gave us lead with which is covered the nave of the church. For which Roger, his wife and children, we say daily the mass of the Holy Virgin and the other mass for the dead, and they lie in the Church of All Saints', Newcastle."

"On the death of his first wife Roger Thornton married again.

"In Dugdale, vol. ii, p. 917, it is further stated—"In the year of our Lord, 1440, on the vigil of St. Catharine, died Elizabeth, wife of Roger Thornton, who was the daughter of Lord John Baron de Graystock."

Mr. J. PARK HARRISON communicated the first part of a paper "On Anglo-Norman Ornament compared with Designs in Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts." He said that Mr. Thomas Wright, in the first number of the *Archæological Journal*, drew attention to the importance of studying architectural details in early illuminated manuscripts for the purpose of identifying Saxon remains. Examples derived from the Cottonian MS., Claudius, B. IV., in the British Museum, and Cædmon's "Paraphrase" in the Bodleian Library, both dating from about the end of the tenth century, were shown by the above Saxon scholar to resemble very closely work in early churches like Deerhurst and Stopham. Mr. Harrison had carefully re-examined the above and other Saxon manuscripts, illustrated with architectural designs, in the

two libraries, as well as the admirable reproductions of pre-Norman illuminations and pictures in Prof. Westwood's great work, derived from sources less accessible. Numerous details were mentioned showing that there certainly were buildings of a superior type to the majority of the churches now styled Saxon. The result, in fact, supported the later views of Mr. J. H. Parker regarding Saxon architecture, namely, that it was more ornamental and advanced than Norman was at the time of the Conquest. The absence of ornament, however, which characterized the new work appears to have been for many years enforced, though in time the native love of ornament reasserted itself, and combining with grander proportions produced the style which French archæologists rightly designate "Anglo-Norman." The paper was illustrated by diagrams and numerous sketches, showing that English churches in pre-Norman times possessed many features which archæologists in Normandy admit were not introduced into the two abbey churches at Caen, or into Normandy much before the middle of the twelfth century, and then apparently from England. An accurate drawing of a capital in the choir of Oxford Cathedral, by Mr. H. G. W. Drinkwater, was exhibited by Mr. Harrison. There were features in it that are met with in illuminated manuscripts of the tenth century, and it may, therefore, possibly have formed part of Ethelred's church.

Votes of thanks were passed to Mr. Oliver, and to Mr. Harrison whose paper is printed at page 143.

Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By Mr. OLIVER.—Rubbing of the brass of Roger Thornton.

By Mr. PARK HARRISON.—Drawings, &c., in illustration of his paper.

By EARL PERCY.—A silver crescent-shaped object, probably of the fifteenth century. It was found about a year ago near Newnham Station, Northumberland. It was doubtful for what purpose this ornament had served, but as the crescent is the well-known badge of the Percy family, it was thought probable it might have been used as a badge for some retainer.

THE LATE REV. H. M. SCARTH.

By the death of Mr. Scarth on the 5th April, at Tangier, where he had gone for his health's sake, the familiar form of an old and much valued Member of the Institute has passed away. Harry Mengden Scarth was born at Staindrop, in Durham, on 11th May, 1814. In due time he entered at Christ's College, Cambridge, and took his B.A. degree in 1837. The same year he was ordained by the Bishop of Lichfield to the curacy of Eaton Constantine, Salop, from which place he went to the small neighbouring living of Kenley. In 1841, when he had been in orders only four years, he received the living of Bathwick, adjoining the city of Bath, and here he spent the next thirty years of his life. Some stormy times and uphill work fell to his lot, which a quietude, natural and acquired, enabled him to meet. Eaton, his first appointment, being near the Roman city of Uriconium, his archaeological taste was soon aroused, and here commenced its development towards this study. Especially, however, was he favoured by his new position at Bath, where, as an archaeologist he had such good surroundings. During his residence here he made Roman Britain and the city of Bath under the Romans, his special study. In 1871 he gladly welcomed an offer of the Rectory of Wrington, Somerset, a place desirable in itself, but where, as a rural parish, after so long an experience of town life, he could hope to find tranquillity without anxiety, and more time for leisurely study and following the now strong bent of his mind. It was a parish also pleasing to him as having a fine church with the finest of Somerset towers, a parish of some historic interest, and especially associated with the names of John Locke and Hannah More, and of more than one Rector his predecessors. He became also a Prebendary of Wells and a Rural Dean. Mr. Scarth, from his long attention given to Roman England and his constant attendance at Archaeological Meetings, had acquired a wide reputation extending beyond this country. There seemed, however, always with him an apparent feeling of caution, so that he could not be moved to action where action was desirable; this prevented him perhaps from leaving any written work worthy of his repute. Besides many interesting papers contributed from time to time to the Institute and other Archaeological publications, his first book issue was "*Aquæ Solis*," a collection in one volume of the finds and drawings already published relating to Bath; and later he wrote "*Roman Britain*" for the S.P.C.K., a work which received some pointed criticism. Devoted thus to antiquarian pursuits, he was a Member and Vice-President of the Bath Antiquarian Field Club and of the Bath Literary Club, whose meetings, until recently, he constantly attended. He was also active as a Member of the Literary and Scientific Institution, in whose corridors are deposited the Roman remains he loved to see. Enthusiastic always, he quickly remarked any trace of Roman occupation and as quickly brought it to public notice. His interest seemed never to lessen, so that while the Institute has lost a most valuable worker, the individual members of it will for long miss his very genial presence, his ever courteous manner and marked refinement. The body was brought home and buried on Monday, the 21st April, at Wrington.

Notices of Archaeological Publications.

A HISTORY OF CUMBERLAND. By RICHARD S. FERGUSON, M.A., F.S.A.,
Chancellor of Carlisle : Popular County Histories : Elliot Stock. 1890.

DIOCESAN HISTORIES—CARLISLE. By RICHARD S. FERGUSON, M.A., F.S.A.,
Chancellor of Carlisle : Society for promoting Christian Knowledge. 1889.

HISTORIC TOWNS—CARLISLE. By M. CREIGHTON M.A., D.C.L., LL.D. "Dixie
professor of Ecclesiastical History in the University of Cambridge : Longman
Green and Co. 1889.

Cumberland must be pronounced singularly fortunate among English counties in numbering among her home-born sons two men so admirably qualified to write her history—whether it be as county or as diocese—and that of her chief town, as Professor Creighton and Mr. Chancellor Ferguson. The works of these gentlemen, whose titles stand at the head of this notice, are of singular excellence, calculated to popularize the history of the county and city of which they treat, and to show its vital connection with the history not of England only but of Scotland also, and the influence exercised by its people first in the "making of England," and then in the gradual moulding of the country and nation, in which the remote and rugged county of Cumberland has played no inconspicuous part. Each of the volumes is one of a series. Chancellor Ferguson's new volumes belong respectively to Mr. Elliot Stock's "Popular County Histories," and the "Diocesan Histories" of the S.P.C.K., while Professor Creighton's work is one of the "Historic Towns" series, issued by Messrs. Longman, under the editorship of Professor Freeman and the Rev. W. Hunt. Each collection contains works of considerable merit which in some cases reaches a very high standard ; but it is not too much to say that in historic accuracy and in literary skill the volumes now before us have in their respective lines been equalled by few, and surpassed by none of their predecessors. The highest literary excellence may be confidently expected from any work of that practised historian Canon Creighton, while in wide and intimate local knowledge, especially of his own county, and in archæology generally, as the readers of this Journal and the members of the Institute are well aware, Chancellor Ferguson has few equals. Orderly in arrangement, clear in description, graphic in style, these three works are models of what such local histories should be. No one can read either of them without pleasure and profit.

Chancellor Ferguson opens his history of the county with a modest repudiation of any attempt to write a history of Cumberland "on the old fashioned lines or scale." For that, he says, "the time has gone past." All that he claims for his volume is to be "an attempt to discharge the functions of the 'general introduction' to an old fashioned county history in two or three quarto volumes." More detailed information on particular subjects is to be sought in the works of

specialists to which the Chancellor affords a needful and most welcome guide in the elaborate classified list of books pamphlets and maps relating to Cumberland, which precedes the index. This index itself extends to fourteen double columned pages. And yet, ample as it is, it cannot be pronounced altogether satisfactory. One who wishes to consult the work for local details requires something more than a reference to the pages where a particular name, local or personal, occurs. Few things are more irritating, especially to one pressed for time, than such entries as "Appleby, 35, 51, 53, 141, &c.," "Dacre, Ann, 167, 168, 173, 178." One has to turn up page after page in search of the particular passage sought, a labour which a word or two of explanation added to the entries would have obviated. Another and still more serious defect in this generally admirable work is the absence of a map. It might be more truly said "of maps," for several are needed to illustrate the different stages of the history of the county. This, however, is probably more the fault of the publisher than of the author. In the other work from Mr. Ferguson's pen, "The Diocesan History of Carlisle," the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge have supplied this necessary adjunct. The map sufficiently filled but not over-burdened with names, distinguishes by difference of tint, the old diocese, first created, like that of Ely, by Henry I., and originally the smallest diocese in England, consisting only of the old Earldom of Carlisle, and the portions of Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Lancashire, once part of the vast historic Archdeaconry of Richmond, severed in the sixteenth century from the see of York to form a constituent part of Henry VIII.'s new diocese of Chester, and in 1856 transferred from it to that of Carlisle. From what has been already remarked it will be seen that the earlier history of a portion of the diocese of Carlisle, viz., that which lies to the south and to the west, is that of the Archdeaconry of Richmond, and must, therefore, be sought in the diocesan annals, first of York, and then of Chester, and forms no part of Mr. Ferguson's scheme, though embraced in the annexed map. Canon Creighton's "History of Carlisle" is also furnished with plans of the city as it was in the reign of Elizabeth and in 1815, which add much to the intelligibility of the narrative. Both these histories have copious indexes which are not open to the objections urged against that to Mr. Ferguson's county history.

While Mr. Ferguson's "Diocesan History" regards Carlisle as the centre of the religious life of Cumbria, a life having its beginning many centuries before the erection of the Norman Bishopric, in the missionary work of St. Ninian, St. Patrick (possibly), St. Bridget, St. Bega, St. Kentigern (otherwise St. Mungo), and St. Cuthbert (to the last of whom c. 180. Carlisle and the country round it and Cartmel, were given by Egfrid). Professor Creighton's history, as he tells us, "treats of it not merely as a town but as a centre of provincial life." This mode of treatment, he remarks, is directly suggested by the subject. "Round Carlisle the history of the Borders centres, and apart from its relations to the general condition of the Borders the civic history of Carlisle would lose its distinctive character." The plan thus stated by Professor Creighton is fully justified by its execution. "Border Life" and "Border Warfare" furnish the subjects of two of his most attractive chapters. These are illustrated copiously, but not too largely, from the rich stores of the

Border Minstrelsy, "more Scotch," he truly remarks, "than English," from which the rude and savage life of the district, relieved by the warmer and kindlier feelings of which human nature is never entirely destitute, receives such vivid illustration. The clan system of the Borderers, their family feuds, their natural independence of ordinary land tenures, their life of rapine varied by outbursts of savage warfare; the thatched clay beehive-huts of the peasants, the peels of the landholders, the baronial castles of the heads of great families and the chieftains of clans along the Border line, among which Naworth stands pre-eminent; the powers and governmental system of the "Wardens of the Marches" under which some degree of order and respect for law was maintained, and some attempts at redressing wrongs were systematically made--all receive full and picturesque treatment. He thus sums up this part of his subject:—

The crimes and wrongs there committed were not like those which were committed elsewhere. They were the results of an exceptional condition of society which had created manners and customs of its own. The deeds of the Borderers might be contrary to the laws of more settled society, but they were in accordance with the actual facts of their own lives. The habits of war had been of such long standing that they had formed a second nature, and peace only meant to the Borderer a time in which personal dexterity was substituted for the more highly organized brutality of military expeditions.

Each of the three volumes before us devotes a considerable space to the early character and condition of the district and its inhabitants. Interesting as Chancellor Ferguson's treatment of this period is, and full as this portion of his work is of that historical and archæological knowledge of the district of which he is the practical embodiment, it is rather out of proportion with the rest, and necessitates a more cursory treatment of some of the later parts of the history. But in books dealing with the district through which the Roman conquerors of the island drove their stupendous lines of defence, the scanty remains of which it is impossible to look on without wonder and something approaching to awe, it is only to be expected that the traces of the Roman occupation should take a leading place. It cannot fail to increase the interest with which the Castle of Carlisle is viewed to know that, in Canon Creighton's words, it was the noble, pure-minded Agricola who, "with the eye of a general and the capacity of a statesman," first saw the capabilities of the rocks towering over the Eden, and "turned the hill, with its British huts, into a Roman town, and stamped upon that town its historical character." The "Roman Conquest," the "Roman Roads," the "Roman Forts and Towns," elaborately and learnedly described by Chancellor Ferguson, lead up to the great historic feature of Northern England, the gigantic "Barrier of Hadrian," that "mighty builder" who has everywhere left his mark upon the provinces, most of which he personally visited. His practised eye discerning the difficulty with which the frontier at this point could be secured, he ordered the erection of a stone wall to connect the isolated forts of Agricola with one another, and to constitute an impassable barrier against the northern barbarians. Space forbids our entering upon the fascinating subject of the Roman Wall. And it is the less necessary as so many of the readers of the *Journal* have more than once enjoyed the privilege of accompanying the veteran historian of the great Rampart, Dr. Collingwood Bruce (a name never to be mentioned without affectionate respect) in the visits of the Institute to its best pre-

served and most interesting portions. To those who have not been thus favoured Chancellor Ferguson's pages furnish a clear, concise, and intelligible description of the stupendous barrier, and the huge earthen vallum which accompanies it on the south side all through its length. The respective dates of the wall and the vallum, as our readers are probably aware, have been a battlefield for antiquaries for many generations nor is the controversy yet decided. Mr. Ferguson with Dr. Collingwood Bruce holds what is known as the "Ælian theory," viz., that both are parts of one design and are both to be ascribed to Hadrian. For the arguments by which he supports—and we think successfully supports—this view we must refer to his own pages. Canon Creighton wisely leaves the "moot points" as to the dates of the various works which formed the barrier untouched. He says "it is enough to gain a general conception of this mighty series of military outposts and their effect on the character of the district through which they ran." We unwillingly close this all too brief reference to this most impressive memorial of Roman rule by a quotation from Professor Creighton relating to the famous rockhewn inscription on the banks of the Gelt, which proves that though doubtless the Britons had to take their share in the work by forced labour, the wall was mainly erected by the Roman legionaries themselves.

A few miles from Carlisle by the little stream of the Gelt, a tributary of the Eden, is inscribed on the face of the arch overhanging the water a legend which tells how a vexillation of the second legion under an *optio* Agricola hewed stones in the consulship of Flavius Aper, and Albinus Maximus (207 A.D.) Sharp and impressive stand out these bold letters the work of some Roman soldier in his hours of idleness, a memorial of a far off episode in the history of our land. No wonder that Tennyson regards them as a model of all other inscriptions.

In letters like to those the vexillary
Hath left crag carven o'er the streaming Gelt.

We pass now to the chequered history of the formation of the county of Cumberland, as described in these volumes. Originally a portion of the British or Welsh kingdom of Strathclyde, reaching from the Clyde to the Dee, after the capture of Chester by Ethelfrith, king of Northumbria, in 607, Cumbria was reduced to some sort of tributary position, and in the reign of Edwin, king of Northumbria, was sometimes included within the boundaries of his kingdom, by settlers from which, entering by the great Roman roads and planting themselves on the right and left (their settlement, the Chancellor tells us, "being known by the termination 'ton'") the district was very extensively colonised. The mountains were left to the old inhabitants, the Britons. Thus colonised, Cumbria was partially absorbed in the Northumbrian kingdom by Egfrid, 670-685, who "made Carlisle and the district round it English ground, though not part of the kingdom of England, and, as we have seen, bestowed a portion of on St. Cuthbert." The disastrous overthrow of Egfrid on the field of Nectansmere in 685, of which, we are told, St. Cuthbert, then for the first time visiting his new possessions, had a miraculous intimation as he stood by the Roman well in the market place of Carlisle, crushed the Northumbrian supremacy. Carlisle, however, and the district round still remained tributary to its rule, the weakness of which left the inhabitants pretty much to themselves for a century or so, "during which," writes Mr. Ferguson, "their county was

the scene of much confused fighting, in which English, Scotch, Norsemen, and Danes all took part." The final issue of this period of anarchy was the creation of the kingdom of Cumbria "by the union of Strathelyde, Galloway, and the land of Carlisle" under one "Gregorius Magnus," King or Regent of Scotland, (*i.e.*, of the Scots or Piets,) contemptuously reduced by Mr. Burton in his history of Scotland to a semi-mythical "Grig." Early in the tenth century the kingdom of Cumbria voluntarily "laid itself at the feet" of Alfred's martial son, Edward the Elder, who, in conjunction with his heroic sister Ethelfleda, "Lady of the Mercians," had successfully carried his reduction of the Danesleagh to the very limits of the district in 925, choosing him, as the Britons of North Wales had done before, to be their "Father and Overlord." This surrender is the celebrated "commendation to England of Scotland and Strathelyde," which, though scouted as fabulous by Mr. Burton, and, as Mr. Ferguson says, "at the time practically valueless," was the basis on which three-and-a-half centuries later Edward the First rested his claims as overlord of Scotland. Within a few years of the "commendation" its terms were put in force by King Edmund "the Magnificent," who, on the revolt of King Dunmail, by the advice of St. Dunstan, transferred his kingdom on tenure of military service to Malcolm I., King of Scots, "as a feudal benefice in the strictest sense." Thus, in Mr. Ferguson's weighty words, "Cumbria became a fief of the Crown of England, *but not a fief held within the kingdom of England*. Cumbria was not an integral part of England, *it was without that Kingdom, and had always been so.*"

The period of the Norman Conquest saw "the land of Carlisle" for the first time made an integral part of the English kingdom. The Conqueror's son, William Rufus, in 1092 marched to Carlisle, drove out Dolfin, son of Earl Gospatric, built the castle, strengthened the frontier with a line of forts, and colonized the city, which according to Florence of Worcester had been laid in ruins by the Danes and had remained uninhabited, with "a great number of churlish folk with their wives and cattle that they might settle there and till the land" (Sax. Chronicle.) This work of Rufus "in no sense a weak ruler, nor destitute of purpose in what he did" shews as Canon Creighton says "that he meant to be king of England with a definiteness which none of his predecessors had dared to claim. He marked out the Welsh border, he marked out the Scottish border as well. Hitherto Caerwel had wavered between divers masters. He would have it waver no more but claimed it decidedly as English ground." He was distinctly the refounder of Carlisle which henceforth was to rank as an English city and to "enter its historical position as the Border fortress of the English kingdom." But there was no breach of continuity in its history. "Low as the old town had fallen it had not altogether disappeared." The old British name—Caer Lywelydd—which in varied forms Luguvalio, Lugubalia, Caerluel, &c., it had borne through Roman and English occupation still survived; an evidence that the old town had not been entirely deserted, but still remained as that to which "the scanty population of the districts in some way looked up as the centre of their common life," and under this name slightly modified as Caerluel, Carliel, Carliol, and ultimately Carlisle it began its new life as an English stronghold and city "after the model of other civic communities as they were in the days of the Norman kings." "Thus" in Mr. Ferguson's words "the

present boundaries between England and Scotland were established, and the land of Carlisle became for the first time part of the English kingdom, and England became geographically what it is now."

The first act of William Rufus continues Mr. Ferguson and of his advisers after adding the land of Carlisle to the English kingdom was to make the new accession of territory available for the defence of the realm. The '*turris fortissima*' he caused to be built at Carlisle, commanded the passage of the Eden and one of the two only roads, both old Roman roads, by which wheeled carriages could enter this district from Scotland, while the Castle of Bewcastle built on and out of the ruins of the Roman station there stopped the other road, viz., the Maiden Way.

Canon Creighton reminds his readers that Rufus' stronghold "whose keep towered above the houses which clustered round it as a menace to the rebellious and as an earnest of protection to the well disposed" was not in the strict sense a castle at all—

But only a tower strong in its position and by the solidity of its walls, facing northwards, and designed as an advanced post to keep watch and ward over the Scots. There was no thought of a walled town elaborately guarded by a castle, for indeed there was no town to defend. The fortress extended its dimensions The ground behind it, on the slope of the hill, was enclosed with a curtain wall, adding greatly to its strength, and with its battlements and galleries enabling a small force to hold it against a considerable army of assailants.

To complete its defensive character as emphatically a "Border City" designed to resist the attacks of its northern neighbours, and to guard the frontier against devastating inroads, Henry I. "organised it for military defence in the same way as the Border lands of Wales by setting over it an earl, who within his district was entrusted with all the rights of the Crown as regards land-tenure and jurisdiction." The first holder of this office was Ranulf le Meschyn, *i.e.*, "the younger," the nephew of Hugh Lupus, Earl of Chester, and the third husband of the great Lincolnshire heiress, the much-married Lucy, daughter of the sheriff, Thorold, and the wife first of Ivo Taillebois, and then of Roger de Romara, and finally of Ranulf. The Earldom did not last long. The scheme for defending the frontiers by means of great earls enjoying *jura regalia*, proved "a very bad policy for the Crown, because these same great earls were hard to control." So on the death of his ill-fated nephew, Richard, Earl of Chester, who perished with Prince William and the flower of the English nobility in the "White Ship," Ranulf, in Canon Creighton's words, "gladly exchanging his poor Earldom of Carlisle for the richer prize of the great Earldom of Chester," no new earl was sent to succeed him. The lands of the earldom were torn asunder. The barony of Appleby was taken from it and added to the barony of Kendal, and formed into the new county of Westmoreland, while what was left of the old earldom, with the addition of the piece of the ancient Yorkshire between the Derwent and the Duddon, and the parish of Alston (which, as Mr. Ferguson remarks, being separated from the rest of the county by a *col* whose summit is 1,900 feet above the sea—by all the laws of geography belongs to the county of Northumberland and actually did belong to the diocese of Durham, and now belongs to that of Newcastle) was constituted the county of Cumberland, under which designation it first appears in the Pipe Roll of 1177, A.D. This new county was portioned out into eight baronies, to collect the king's dues and guard the king's rights. To these baronies Mr. Ferguson devotes an interesting

chapter, carefully tracing their descents through the mazes of genealogy and avoiding the pit-falls which lie in wait for the half-instructed, which well deserves the attention of the student of family history. Among these the great "marital house of Dacre" stands out the most prominent, "so far back as ever they can be traced *αὐτόχθονες*, De Dacres of 'Dacre'—ever fierce, rough, and ready"—inseparably connected in history and legend, with memories of Flodden, of Border warfare and Border raids, whose banner was ever a terror to the Scotch, and a rallying point for the English Border-men. Among these Lords of the Border one of the best known is the celebrated "Belted Will," a picturesque title, which appears to owe its origin to Sir Walter Scott, the great Lord William Howard of Naworth, around whose name have grown so many wild and picturesque legends of his sharp and summary severity, which it has been the ungrateful task of the late Mr. Ornsby to dispel under the cold clear light of historical research. The "Boy of Egremmond" also appears here, Fitz Duncan's only son, to whose sad fate, celebrated by Wordsworth and other poetic pens, Bolton Abbey by the Wharfe owes its foundation.

The Earldom of Carlisle reappears again when the feeble rule of Stephen threw the whole kingdom into disorganization. Canon Creighton writes:—

The Scottish King David, had seen with alarm the spread of Henry's organization on the borderland, and he was glad to lend his help towards plunging England into confusion. Taking up arms in behalf of his niece, Matilda, he forced his troops into Northern England, which was left unprotected. Carlisle at once fell before him, and Stephen made peace with Scotland on condition that he conferred on Henry, the son of the Scottish King, the Earldom of Carlisle, which so went back again into the same condition from which William Rufus had rescued it. For some years Carlisle was a Scottish town.

At Carlisle, David held his court and here he died in 1153, being succeeded by his young grandson Malcolm, who very speedily was compelled by the stronger will of Stephen's successor to surrender the domain which had been rent from the English crown, receiving in exchange the Earldom of Huntingdon.

This recovery of Carlisle from the Scottish King, continues Canon Creighton, marks a decisive start in the history of the city. David had occupied Carlisle in Matilda's name, and Matilda's son when he had won the English crown, reclaimed its heritage. He would not have it said that any personal motive of gratitude had led him to barter away the right of his possessions. He maintained that the ancient boundaries of England must remain as they had been fixed before his time. Carlisle was a border city, but it must be the fortress of the English border. Henry II. made that fact clear beyond dispute, and though the Scottish Kings tried to assert their claims, they had no chance thenceforth of maintaining them. They were powerful enough at times to ravage the lands of Carlisle, or even to occupy the city, but they had no hopes of winning it back to form a portion of Scottish territory.

The Scottish wars above referred to and the Border warfare which dragged on its disastrous career quite to the end of the sixteenth century, in the so called "Debateable Land," a district fertile in song and ballad by which, "clothing this stern narrative of a savage past with poetic pathos," its name and fame chiefly survive among us, but still more fertile in slaughter and rapine, desolation and misery, are the subjects of chapters full of stirring incidents both in Mr. Ferguson's and Canon Creighton's volumes. They shew us that in Canon Creighton's words "Carlisle cannot have been an attractive place to live in" continually beleaguered as it was by Scottish armies, now by that of the Earl of Buchan who "finding the place too strong for him," writes Mr.

Ferguson, "and the citizens too determined, the very women mounting the walls to throw stones and boiling water upon the assailants, raided through the district, sparing neither man, woman, nor child,"—now summoned to surrender by Wallace and meeting his summons with a bold "come and take it if you can,"—now sustaining a ten days' siege from Robert Bruce who was beaten off by the prowess of the gallant commander of the castle Sir Andrew de Harcla, who, though "to this day it is an article of faith in Westmorland that Sir Andrew died an innocent man" was in a few years apprehended on suspicion of treason in the very castle he had so nobly defended, and suffered the death of a traitor. The fourteenth century is described by Mr. Ferguson "the most miserable the citizens of Carlisle and the men of Cumberland ever had to endure." Perpetually devastated by the ravages of the Scotch, the country folk were almost reduced to starvation. The clergy all fled. Pestilence followed in the train of hunger and misery, the "Black Death" stalked through the land and enforced a temporary truce by the utter exhaustion of both sides.

This lengthened period of warfare converted every man into a soldier. "Even the Bishops of Carlisle became military personages." Bishop Halton planned, if he did not carry, out the transformation of his manor house of "the Rose" into a castle, on the concentric Edwardian plan, in which in 1300 he entertained Edward I. and his Queen Margaret. A few years later the bishop was himself a fugitive, taking up his abode, far enough away from his diocese, at Horncastle in Lincolnshire, the benefice of which, on the plea of excessive poverty, the Pope had in 1318 appropriated to the See. It is only within the last twenty years that this strange historic link has been broken by a triple exchange between the Bishops of Carlisle and Lincoln, and Queen's College, Oxford, by which the last named body transferred the patronage of Burgh-on-the-Sands to the Bishop of Carlisle who made over that of Horncastle to his brother of Lincoln, Queen's College receiving one of that bishop's livings in compensation. Bishop Halton was succeeded by John de Ross who in 1332 made way for John de Kirkby. This last completed the conversion of Rose into a fortress which had been already planned by Halton. He is an example of a fighting prelate characteristic of the times who proved himself one of the most vigorous defenders of the Border. In 1345, writes Canon Creighton, "he pursued a band of marauders and though his forces were but small he hung upon their rear and annoyed them until on their retreat he ventured on an encounter. Though unhorsed in the fray he managed to recover his saddle and rally his men so that the Scots retreated with considerable loss." It is not surprising, that at such a time of distress, with a bishop more often in the saddle than on his episcopal throne, the restoration of the Cathedral choir, which had been devastated by fire, hung long on hand, to rise from its ruins eventually in all the beauty of the complete Gothic of the Decorated period, and to receive the crowning glory of its east window at the hands of Bishop Kirkby, c. 1360.

This was the epoch of the erection of peel towers which, though often hidden among the later buildings which cluster round them, form the kernel of almost every country house of any importance or age in the district. These are well described by Canon Creighton.

All along the Borders the dwellers had to be prepared for the sudden inroad of a marauding foray, which swept away their cattle, and all else that they possessed. To provide against this constant source of danger the better class of Borderers built themselves solid square towers of stone, which reproduced on a small scale the keep of a Norman castle, surrounded by a certain wall of wooden palisade and being what was known as the *barmkyn*. Strongly built they could stand a siege even of some days. Generally of three stories, they were accessible only by a ladder which led to a wooden platform in front of the door, on the first storey. It was the work of a few moments to flee into the tower, draw up the platform and the ladder, and secure the door. The ground floor room was vaulted with stone and if the assailants managed to make a breach and take possession of it, they still had to fight their way upwards before they could capture the garrison who could retreat if need were, to the roof.

"It is true," remarks Mr. Ferguson, "the inmates might be starved out, but for that the raiders had no time," one tower also was generally in view of another, the beacon fires were kindled and sped, and help was along its line soon forthcoming from Carlisle or Naworth, unless those places were themselves beset. In many Cumberland villages the church towers were virtually peels and the refuge of the parishioners in time of stress.

After more than two centuries of butchery and violence a treaty of peace was signed between England and Scotland in 1551, and both parties set to work to bring about the pacification of the Borders. The "Debatable Land," that fertile source of difference which had been a shelter to rebels, traitors, outlaws, and 'border-men' of all sorts, were divided by a joint committee, and an earthen mound and ditch was made to mark the frontier line between the two kingdoms. A regular guard was established to keep watch by night and day, and to give signal of danger by horns or beacon fires. Needless fords were done away with. The arable and pasture lands of the townships were enclosed with stout quickset hedges, for which young thorns were furnished in large numbers, as an effectual safeguard against marauders. "Even Will o' Deloraine himself," says Mr. Ferguson, "could not drive a fat bullock through or over a good quickset hedge of thorns."

The quiet and order thus partially restored was confirmed by Elizabeth's wise policy; Carlisle was "once more set in its proper place as an English town, and delivered from the anomalous condition of being mainly a military centre." There were occasional outbreaks, but the Queen regarded such frays as matters of international concern, and insisted on their being put down. Her peremptory orders were obeyed, and for the last quarter of the sixteenth century peace on the border was only disturbed by the well-known picturesque episode of the illegal incarceration in Carlisle Castle of "Kinmount Willie"—or Willie Armstrong—and his daring rescue by Sir Walter Scott, laird of Buccleuch, so celebrated in Border minstrelsy, and so vividly told by Professor Creighton.

'Twas horse and away with bold Buccleuch,
As he rode in the van of his border crew;
"You may tell your Virgin Queen," he cried,
"That Scotland's rights were never defied."
Wi' the stroke of a sword, instead of a file,
He ransomed Willie in auld Carlisle.

With this picturesque episode our notice of these interesting volumes must come to a close. The reception and residence of Mary, Queen of Scots, who here probably, as Canon Creighton remarks, "spent the happiest days she was to enjoy,"—"The Troubles, the Restoration, and

the Revolution," the appetising title of one of Mr. Ferguson's closing chapters,—“The '15 and the '45,” which is the head of another, the barbarous executions of the Young Pretender's followers by a government “determined to enact a fearful vengeance and leave behind a terrible warning”—the “modern growth,” by which the “dirty and dispirited town of 2,500 inhabitants which existed in 1747 has passed into the neat and prosperous town of to-day,” with its population of more than 35,000, with the numerous other matters included in these closing pages, must be read in the authors' own words, always clear, always instructive, and sometimes rising to something almost akin to eloquence. This article can have no fitter conclusion than the paragraph with which Canon Creighton ends up the history of his native city.

The tract of country over which the eye gazes from the ramparts of Carlisle Castle is rich in memories of the past, and tells as no other landscape tells, of that phase in our national history which these pages have endeavoured to recall. The title of the “Border City,” has little meaning at the present day; but the view from the walls of Carlisle Castle can teach a stranger to understand how profound are the feelings which it awakens among a folk tenacious above all other of old memories, because they are proud of the strong sense of personal independence which has its roots in an historic past.

THE GENTLEMAN'S MAGAZINE LIBRARY being a classified collection of the chief contents of the Gentleman's Magazine from 1731 to 1868. BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES, edited by A. C. Bickley, General Editor, George Lawrence Gomme, F.S.A. London: Elliott Stock, 1889.

The advantage of having the valuable contents of the old “Gentleman's Magazine,” for a period approaching a century and a half, classified is not easily over-estimated. The present volume is divided into two sections, and is full of interest from cover to cover. The first section contains “Notes on Special Books” and the second, “Notes on Special Subjects.”

Under the first section many rare and curious books are brought under notice, some of them unique. The first, and most remarkable, are some very rare Caxtons which are carefully and very fully described by that famous and enthusiastic bibliographer, the late Rev. T. F. Dibdin, the author of many bibliographical works, and the founder of the Roxburgh Club. There are also other interesting notes on many early printed books, among which, not the least interesting are the notes with illustrative extracts “on Old English Poetical Facetiæ.”

Passing to the second section, the first subject treated of is “Almanacs” their origin, etymology, and early date. The first printed is generally admitted to be that of John Muller, of Monteregio, who was better known as Regiomontanus, published at Nuremburg, in 1472. He not only gave the characters for each year, and of the months, but foretold the eclipses, &c., for thirty years in advance. It is stated that “there are various manuscript almanacs of the fourteenth century in the libraries of the British Museum, and Corpus Christi College, Cambridge; Mr. Jackson of Exeter, also mentions one in his possession made in the reign of Edw. III., of parchment, being about 140 years prior to Muller's, not in the usual form of a sheet or a book but in separate pieces, folded in the shape of a flat stick or lath, in the Saxon fashion.”

Though some of the earliest English Almanacs were printed in Holland the first recorded account we have of almanacs printed in this country

appears to be about the time of King Henry VII; that the earliest known specimen was from the press of Wynkyn de Worde in 1508, and from this time they have been continually increasing in number. At an early date they were distinguished for the mixture of truth and falsehood they contained, and even now those which have the largest circulation are characterised by the same qualities. Dr. Moore, according to his own account, by his predictions and hieroglyphics amused and alarmed the world for 140 years. An anecdote is related of a visit paid by this famous almanac maker to Lilly his rival, to endeavour to get at the secret of his calculations, when Lilly bluntly exclaimed "I see what you are driving at Dr. Moore, you wish to know my system, I tell you what it is, I take your almanac and for every day that you predict one thing, I predict the reverse, and, he continued, I am quite as often right as you." Mr. Henry Andrews of Royston was for many years the maker of this popular almanac for which he received from the Stationery Office £25 a year. Since the reduction of the Stamp duty its sale has materially increased, and last year (this was written in 1839) it is stated, to have amounted to the vast number of 521,000 copies, and it is noted that of the famous Murphy almanac, of which 75,000 were printed, 70,000 were sold. It appears from a Parliamentary return of 1828 that the Stamp duty paid upon the almanacs of England amounted to £30,136 3s. 9d., which, the duty being 1s. 3d. each, would show an annual circulation at that date of 451,593 copies annually. Many special almanacs are described, and much curious information is given concerning them, but our space will not admit of our entering more fully upon this subject.

The next special subject treated of is "Newspapers" their origin and definition. This will be read with singular interest. Newspapers are known to have existed as early as the reign of Henry VIII, for that monarch issued a proclamation prohibiting them, and ordering those printed to be brought in and burned within twenty four hours after the issue of the proclamation under pain of imprisonment, and the authors to be further punished at the King's pleasure. This proclamation would seem to have been effective, for we hear no more of newspapers for a century or upwards. The real origin of newspapers took place under the Long Parliament, who originally appear to have used them to make their proceedings known. They were generally called "Mercuries." The notes on this subject afford much most curious knowledge respecting the origin, growth, and circulation of these periodicals. There is a list of London Journals in 1833 and 1835, giving the circulation of each paper between those dates, distinguishing the issue of each half year from the former period. At the head of the list stands the *Times*, with an issue within the first period 1,779,494 copies, followed by the *Morning Herald* with 1,206,500.

The origin, antiquity, and first use of Cards next claims attention. It is shewn that playing cards were first invented about the year 1390, for the amusement of Charles VI, King of France, who had fallen into a state of melancholical depression, and it is stated that the inventor proposed by the suits or colours to represent the four states or classes of men in the French Kingdom. Various other classes of cards are described with regard to which we must refer to the volume, especially to the Terocchi cards of which a very full description is given.

To this follows remarks on the works of special Authors. For example

those of Thomas Lodge's numerous works on the drama, &c., those of Sir Philip Sidney, Sir Kenelm Digby, Garrick and others. This is succeeded by works on various special subjects, such as Archery, Gardeners, Calendars, Grammar, &c., and fragments of Literature which are most curious and amusing.

Archæological Intelligence.

SCHEME FOR PROPOSED EXCAVATIONS AT CHESTER.—Some repairs lately executed in the North Wall of Chester resulted in the discovery of Roman inscriptions and sculptures, and a further exploration started by the Chester Archæological Society produced more inscriptions and sculptures. It is now proposed, as the Corporation has given leave, to set on foot further explorations on the same spot. The former discoveries have excited great interest both in England and on the Continent, and Professor Mommsen, of Berlin, has written to Mr. Haverfield strongly urging further search.

Of all the historic sites in England, none are so likely to aid our knowledge of Roman history as the Roman military centres, and it is well known that Deva was garrisoned by the Twentieth Legion from the earliest times almost until the end of the Roman occupation of our island.

The area of the search will be the Dean's Field and the North Wall adjoining the portions examined previously. All Roman inscriptions and sculptures found will be deposited in the Grosvenor Museum with those found in the previous exploration of the North Wall.

The scheme is got up by Prof. Pelham, F.S.A., and Mr. F. Haverfield. They are supported by the Duke of Westminster, Dr. Evans, the Bishop of Oxford, the Bishop of Chester, the Bishop of Salisbury, Mr. C. Roach Smith, the Rev. J. Collingwood Bruce, Dr. Hodgkin, and others, and by the Chester Archæological Society, in conjunction with which the excavations will be carried out. Subscriptions may be sent to Prof. Pelham, Exeter College, Oxford, or to Mr. Haverfield, Lancing College, Shoreham, Sussex.

DISCOVERY OF A BRASS AT GEDNEY, LINCOLNSHIRE.—We are indebted to the obliging co-operation of the Rev. C. G. R. Birch for the following particulars concerning an interesting brass, which has just come to light at Gedney, Lincolnshire, during some repairs which are in progress in the south aisle of that church. On the removal of a pew near the east end of that aisle on June 17th, a large slab was discovered, bearing the almost perfect effigy of a lady, c 1390, wearing nebulé head dress, the sideless mantle, mittened sleeves, &c., and having at her feet a dog with a collar of bells. The height of the effigy slightly exceeds five feet one inch. The rest of the composition, a very fine one is lost. There are indents of a large triple canopy, with four saints under small canopies on each side, and, on brackets on either side of the central pediment of the large canopy, of effigies of an Angel, with a scroll, probably the Annunciating Angel, and of a female figure, probably the Blessed Virgin. On either side of the head of the effigy is the indent of a large shield, and round the whole composition the indent of a marginal inscription. It is supposed to be the memorial of a lady of the Welby family, for many centuries connected with the parish, and to whom there are various later memorials in the same aisle, but some more precise identification is needed.

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ROMAN ANTIQUITIES OF THE MIDDLE RHINE.¹

By BUNNELL LEWIS, M.A., F.S.A.

The classical archæologist must be a traveller as well as a student, that he may be able to describe ancient monuments with a freshness, vigour and fidelity, which can only be the outcome of personal observation, and therefore can never result from perusing the works of others.² He should start on his journey, equipped with a sufficient knowledge of Greek and Roman authors; otherwise he will see objects with the outward eye, but will be unable to discern their significance and mutual relations. A mere bookworm who has spent his life in libraries cannot prosecute researches of this kind successfully, for a realistic treatment of the subject is required; we have to deal with things rather than words, and ought to learn from foreigners facts unknown to our own countrymen.³ We must be prepared to spend time, labour and money, to

¹ Read at the Monthly Meeting of the Institute, July 4th, 1889.

² Compare the sentences with which Mr. Freeman begins his article on Augusta Treverorum in the British Quarterly Review, July 1, 1875. Of all periods of the world's history there is none which so imperatively calls on him who would master it to unite the characters of student and traveller as the great transitional time of European history. The days when the Roman and the Teutonic elements of modern society stood as yet side by side are days which cannot be studied in books only.

³ Hence for these investigations the modern languages are as requisite as the ancient, not only in order to converse with persons who do not understand English (though their number is rapidly

diminishing), but also to study foreign literature that has not hitherto been translated. In the latter case the difficulty increases; at the revival of learning, and long afterwards, scholars wrote for the most part in Latin, but now they employ the vernacular more and more. Even the Hungarian authors are discontinuing this ancient and universal medium of communication, which was used for parliamentary debates, as I am informed, even later than 1830, and remained a part of the speech of the common people longer in this country than anywhere else. Or to take an example from an opposite quarter, no one could compile a satisfactory account of Scandinavian antiquities without a knowledge of Danish, such at least as would be sufficient for literary purposes.

risk health and suffer hardship, visiting remote and sometimes dangerous localities. I have endeavoured, however imperfectly, to act in accordance with these views, and the Institute has done me the honour to accept my humble contributions. But on the present occasion I confine myself to the most beaten path of all, the Rhine-land; and my task is the more difficult, because I tread on the footprints of distinguished predecessors.¹

As Mr. Roach Smith has remarked in the 2nd vol. of his *Collectanea*, p. 119, Trèves and Mayence, considered with reference to antiquities, differ widely from each other. At Trèves they constantly met us; the gigantic mass of the Porta Nigra towers over the principal street dwarfs the adjacent buildings, and seems, if I may so speak, always to stare us in the face; the Basilica is near the market place; the Roman baths are only a few minutes' walk from the bridge; the Palace and Amphitheatre are within an easy distance. On the other hand, the traveller who perambulates Mayence sees nothing older than the Cathedral, which was begun in the tenth century, but repeatedly destroyed by fire.² Memorials of Roman times must be sought in the Museum—a vast collection rivaling those of the European capitals, but having a character of its own strongly marked that makes it specially interesting. It is historical rather than artistic, military rather than civil. The admirable classification, due to the learned Director Dr. Lindenschmit, enhances the utility of the objects preserved here; and casts of similar monuments in other districts have been added for the purpose of comparison.³

¹ I refer here, not to German publications, but to memoirs by our own countrymen—Professor Westwood and Mr. Roach Smith. The former has described many objects of mediæval art—carved ivories, enamels and illuminated manuscripts, etc., found at Mayence, Frankfurt-on-the-Maine, Darmstadt and other places: *Archæological Journal*, vol. xix, pp. 219-235; xx. 141-157, Notes made during a Tour in Western Germany and France. The latter has confined his attention chiefly, but not exclusively, to Roman remains: *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. ii, pp. 65-152, plates xxiv-xxxv.

² The oldest part now remaining seems to belong to the eleventh century. Many details of the building will be

found in Baedeker, *Die Rheinlande von der Schweizer bis zur Holländischen Grenze*, pp. 197-201, with plan of the Cathedral. Speaking generally, the series issued by this publisher will afford the antiquarian traveller all the information to be expected within the limits of a pocket-guide. The volume for the Rhine is particularly copious; and this may be easily accounted for, as it appeared in its earliest form at Coblenz more than forty years ago. Bibliographical references, however, are wanting, a deficiency which will be felt by those who have been accustomed to use the larger editions of Joanne for the departments of France.

³ This Museum occupies the *Kurfürstliche Schloss*, Palace of the Electors of

Again, the Roman remains at Trèves and Mayence differ from each other in kind as well as in position; they present the same contrast as those in the North and South of England—for example, the Wall of Hadrian and the luxurious villas in Gloucestershire. In the former city the buildings above-mentioned suggest the ideas of governmental administration, civilization and prosperity; in the latter everything reminds us of warfare, offensive and defensive. And this leads me to observe how fully these fragmentary relics of former times correspond with the statements of Latin authors. We learn from Florus, *Rerum Romanarum* lib. iv., cap. 12, §26, that the Romans had a (direxit) chain of more than 50 fortresses on the Rhenish frontier.¹ Now of these Mogontiacum was the centre and the chief, so that the contents of the Museum, conspicuously martial, are just what we should *a priori* expect to find there.²

Mayence, which must be distinguished from the Grossherzogliche Schloss (Deutsch-Ordenshaus), also on the Quay and in close proximity to the former. Baedeker enumerates the contents of each room with minute accuracy.

¹ Loc. citat. Drusus . . . in tutelam provinciarum praesidia atque custodias ubique disposuit, per Mosam flumen, per Albim, per Visurgim. Nam per Rheni quidem ripam quinquaginta amplius castella direxit.

Florus should be read in the edition of Jo. G. Graevius, which is profusely illustrated. Some remarks in the preface deserve to be quoted.

Cum primum illi manum admoverem, constitueram non nisi nummos et monumenta quaedam antiqua quibus illustraretur adponere, ut ex iis cognosci possent et virorum insignium vultus, et primo intuitu intelligi quid essent fasces, ancilia, Palladium, Janus bifrons, sellae curules, et si quae sunt hujus generis alia non pauca. His nire et ad antiquitatis studium et ad historiae cognoscendas incitari adolescentes saepius cognoram, et facilius quae legerant et audierant memoriae infigi.

Graevius was well qualified to express an opinion concerning the educational value of archaeology, because he had experience of it as a Professor at Utrecht, and also published the *Thesaurus Antiquitatum Romanarum* in 12 vols, folio, 1694-1699. Classical studies would have been cultivated with greater advantage,

if subsequent critics and teachers had followed the suggestions offered long ago. The portrait of Graevius adorns the sumptuous work entitled *Richardi Bentleii et doctorum virorum Epistolae, partim mutuae*, Lond. 1807 4to., which was edited by Dr. Charles Burney, but appeared anonymously; see Bishop Monk's instructive and entertaining *Life of Bentley*, 2nd edition, 1833, vol. i, p. 49, and ib. 159, note 21. The Delphin Florus bears on the title page the name of Madame Dacier, Anna Tanaquilli Fabri filia; there are no engravings, and her notes are comparatively unimportant.

² Lipsius, edit. Tacitus, Antverpiae, 1607, prints Magontiacum, but two of the best among recent editors, Orelli, 1848, C. Halm, 1864, give the form as above in my text. I think this is more likely to be correct; Magontiacum may have proceeded from unconscious imitation, approximating to later and modern names of the city.

Ammianus Marcellinus, who flourished in the latter half of the fourth century, calls this city Mogontiacus, and makes it feminine; similarly he writes *Argentoratus* for *Argentoratum*: edit. Eyssenhardt, lib. xv, cap. 11, § 8; xxvii, 10, 1, *Mogontiacum praesidiis vacuum*.

Ptolemy has another form, *Μογοντιακόν*, *Geographia*, lib. ii, cap. 9, § 8. Carol Müller's edition, vol. i, p. 228, contains the following note, *Apud ceteros auctores urbs vocatur Mogontiacum et Maguntiacum, et seriore aeco Maguntia, Maguncia,*

Tacitus, in the fourth book of the *Histories*, relating the war with Civilis, the most formidable opponent the Romans encountered during the Upper Empire, mentions Mogontiacum no less than ten times, and each time in connection with military operations and events. The great historian—great equally in pictorial narrative and philosophic reflection—has devoted many chapters to this revolt, the forerunner of so many disasters, like drops of rain falling heavily on the ground, portending the long and angry storm that was to burst upon and shatter the fabric of Imperial dominion. He describes the march of the legions that had surrendered to the Gauls and Germans; he tells us how the hour of departure was more dismal than any expectation of it; how the busts of the Emperors were torn down and the standards untrimmed, while the ensigns of the Gauls were resplendent; how the army advanced silently as if it were a funeral procession, and their enemies crowded from the houses and fields to glut out their eyes with the unaccustomed spectacle. Then the Picentine squadron would not brook the insults of a rejoicing rabble, but forced its way to Mogontiacum, as to a safe harbour of refuge.¹

No better illustration of the concluding statement can be imagined than that which is afforded by a Roman gravestone now in the Museum at Mayence.

SILIVS · A TTONIS · F
EQ · ALAE · PICENN
AN · XLV · STIP · XXIV
H · F · C 2

Inferiori Germaniae ascribitur perperam. Error ex eo pendet quod urbs ex earum numero est quas Ptolemaeus justo magis boream versus collocat. For other varieties see the Antonine Itinerary. edit. Parthey and Pinder, pp. 350, 355 and 374 (the pagination being that of Wessel-ling added in the margin).

In the *Tabula Peutingeriana*, edit. Mannert, 1824, Segmentum ii B, Mogontiaco (sic) is distinguished by two towers, like Augusta Treverorum; this is the sign of an important city. Dr. Konrad Miller has published the Table, which he calls the *Weltkarte des Castorius* (1888), with the same colours as the original; here the upper part of the towers is purple, and the lower yellow.

Brunet's *Supplément au Manuel du*

Libraire, *Dictionnaire de Géographie ancienne et moderne*, besides other information, includes *Les recherches bibliographiques les plus étendues sur l'introduction de l'imprimerie dans les différentes villes de l'Europe*. Hence the article on Mayence, where printing was invented by Gutenberg (*Gensfleisch*), is unusually elaborate.

¹ Tacitus, *Hist. iv.*, 62, *Et volgata captarum legionum fama cuncti, qui paulo ante Romanorum nomen horrebant, procurrentes ex agris tectisque et undique effusi insolito spectaculo nimium fruebantur. Non tulit ala Picentina gaudium insultantis volgi, spretisque, Sancti promissis aut minus Mogontiacum abeunt.*

² The *Ala Picentina* has a special interest for English readers, because we

Expansion.

Silius, Attonis filius, eques alae Picentinae, annorum quadraginta quinque, stipendiorum viginti quattuor: heres faciendum curavit.

Translation.

Silius, son of Atto, a horse-soldier of the Picentine squadron, 45 years old, served in 24 campaigns: his heir erected this monument.¹

know it was one of the bodies of Roman troops that occupied our own country. It occurs in a military diploma of Hadrian found at Riving, near Stannington, Yorkshire: Lapidarium Septentrionale, pp. 6-8. Six alae and twenty one cohorts were mentioned. Opposite p. 7 is a coloured fac-simile of both sides of the remaining plate. With the Cavalry and Infantry here enumerated comp. Map at p. 1, showing approximately the localities from which many of the Forces doing battle in the Mural District were drawn.

See also Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum, Inscr. Britanniae Latinae, edit. Hübner, p. 215, cap. lxxv., Privilegia militum veteranorumque de civitate et conubio . . . vulgo appellantur non recte tabulae honestae missionis, contra breviter diplomata militaria dici possunt. P. 218 sq., No. 1195, he gives the name thus PIENT[al], and the expansion Pient [i] a [n(a)]. The characters were engraved on two sheets of metal folded together, and fastened by thongs passing through holes which are still to be seen. Forcellini correctly explains the word *Diploma*, ita dictae (literae) a forma, quia forinabantur in modo tabellarum duplicium, like a diptych.

Orelli, Collectio Inscr. Latinarum, vol. i., No. 737, honestae missionis formula; note 1, Sex illa O foramina referunt tabulae plicatilis; ib. No. 2652; vol. ii., Nos. 3571, 3577, 3592.

It is said that the *ala* usually consisted of 300 cavalry: comp. Livy, bk. iii., chap. 62, equites duarum legionum sexcenti fere ex equis desiliunt; but the number, as is the case with our own regiments, seems to have varied according to circumstances. Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities, s. v. Exercitus, p. 507, § 8; p. 509, § 12. The *ala* (wing of an army) was subdivided into 10 *turmae*; hence Milton says,

Legions and cohorts, turms of horse and wings.

Paradise Regained, Book IV., v. 66: on which Bishop Newton has the following

note, Troops of horse. A word coined from the Latin *turma*. Virg. *Æn.* v. 560 *Equitum turmae*.

¹ This inscription is the more valuable because the *ala Picentina* is not mentioned elsewhere by Tacitus or any other writer: v. Orelli's Commentary, Tac. Hist. iv, 26. Forcellini explains the adjective in this passage as derived from Picentia in Campania, and refers to Pliny, Nat. Hist., lib. iii, cap. v, § 70 (edit. Sillig), a Surrento ad Silarum annum triginta millia passuum ager Picentinus fuit Tuscorum, templo Junonis Argivae ab Jasone condito insignis. Intus oppidum Salerni, Picentia (the coast of Amalfi). But I think that the great lexicographer is mistaken; more probably *ala Picentina* should be connected with Picenum than with the obscure Picentini. In a letter from Pompey to Domitius inserted in Cicero ad Atticum, after the 12th Epistle of the 8th book, and marked C, *Picentinae cohortes* occur; and from the context, where he speaks of Umbria and Luceria, we may infer that these troops were raised in Picenum, all these places being on the Adriatic.

Of this province Ancona was the chief town and only port; the journey to it is a tedious one, but the classical traveller is compensated for his fatigue by the sight of Trajan's beautiful arch—remarkable for the dazzling splendour of its white marble, fine proportions, and inscriptions recording the names not only of the Emperor but also of his wife Plotina and his sister Marciana: Francke, Zur Geschichte Trajan's und seiner Zeitgenossen, pp. 593—595, Hafenbauten, esp. p. 594, the three inscr. in full: Orelli, vol. i, p. 190, No. 792.

Cicero de Senectute iv, 11, uses the adjective Picenus from Picenum; and Horace has Picenus, Sat. ii, 3, 272, Picenis excerpens semina pomis; ibid., 4, 70. Ptolemy calls the people who lived on the southern side of the mountains between the bays of Naples and Salerno *Πικεντινοί*, and the inhabitants of Picenum *Πικηννοί*, Geogr. lib. iii, c. 1, §§ 7, 18.

It was found about ten miles south of Mayence, in Rhenish Hesse, between Dienheim and Ludwigshöhe, villages on the left bank of the Rhine, near Oppenheim (*Bauconica*), and therefore at a spot nearly equidistant from Mayence and Worms (*Borbitomagus*) the capital of the Vangiones, and afterwards of the kingdom of the Burgundians who came from the Baltic. This city is marked twice in the Antonine Itinerary; 1, on the road from Milan (*Mediolanum*) to Mayence through the Pennine Alps; 2, on the road from Trèves to Strassburg (*Argentoratum*).¹

Above the inscription is a relief that represents a man reclining on a couch with cushions, and a tripod table before him, on which vessels for eating and drinking are placed; at the side there is a slave in attendance. With this scene we may compare plate xii, fig 1 in the second volume of Böttiger's *Sabina*, facing p. 173, where we see a father of a family at the dinner-table together with his wife, he is semi-recumbent, she is seated beside him.² But a parallel example may be found at home; the British Museum possesses a fine bas-relief of which the subject is Bacchus received by Icarius in the garden of a villa. Close to the couch upon which the latter reclines stands

¹ For Oppenheim see Baedeker, *Rheinlande*, p. 121, and map of Rhenish Hesse, No. 12, opposite p. 122.

I subjoin from the Antonine Itinerary the latter part of the route a Mediolano per Alpes Penninas Mogontiacum, edit. Parthey and Pinder, p. 169, Wesseling, p. 355

Noviomago (Speier) ... mpm. xi

Borbitomago (Worms) ... mpm. xiii

Bauconica (Oppenheim) ... mpm. xiii

Mogontiacum (Mainz) mpm. xi.

Cf. Ptolemy, *Geogr.* II, 9, § 9, Ὀναργιόρων δὲ Βορβητόμαγος; on which Car. Müller has the following note, vol. i, p. 229, Borgetomagi Tabula Peutling.; Borbitomago Itin. p. 355, 3, 374, 6 codices longe plurimi.

Ammianus Marcellinus (relating the campaigns of the Emperor Julian) xvi, 2, 12, Audiens itaque Argentoratum Brotomagus Tabernas Salisonem Nemetas et Vangiones et Mogontiacum civitates barbaros possidentes; comp. the German nations enumerated by Caesar in the account of his battle with Ariovistus, *Bell. Gall.* i, 51. Brotomagus, otherwise Brocomagus, Ptol ii, 9, 9 Βρευκόμαγος

hodie Brumat, is situated a little north of Strassburg on the ancient road from that city to Cologne (Col. Agrippina). It must not be confounded with Borbitomagus, which Ammianus indicates by the word Vangiones, substituting the name of the people for that of their chief city, just as we see it done in the map of modern France, e.g. Caesarodunum is now called Tours from Turones. Borbitomagus was corrupted into Wormatia, from which Worms is derived: *Dict. of Greek and Roman Geography*, s.v. Vangiones etc.

For the topography of the whole district see the *Notitia dignitatum* in *partibus Occidentis*, edit. Böcking, cap. xxxix, Dux Mogontiensis, p. 116* sq., Annot. pp. 958*—981*; and esp. for Vangiones and Wormatia *al.* Warmatia, Guarmatia pp. 966*—968*.

² This bas-relief was found in the island of Samos by the celebrated botanist Tournefort, and described by him in the *Relation d'un voyage du Levant*, fait par ordre du Roi, Tome ii, p. 167, edit. 4to. Böttiger has copied his engraving; *Op. citat* *Erklärung der Kupfertafeln*, zur achten Szene p. 255.

a tripod table, bearing a cantharus (two-handled drinking cup), fruit and cakes. Description of the Ancient Marbles by Taylor Combe, part ii, plate iv, show the details very accurately.¹ We find the same subject in Spon, *Miscellanea Eruditae Antiquitatis*, p. 310, pl. xviii, with the addition of Erigone, daughter of Icarius, and amplified by a more numerous assemblage of figures; but the *provenance* is not stated. Below the inscription is a man wearing a broad mantle that falls symmetrically in front and behind, slit up on both sides, and over it a *sagum* fixed by a brooch on the right shoulder; he leads a horse with saddle and bridle. In the upper part of the man's helmet we observe undulations that seem to imitate curls of human hair; his garment, reaching to the knees, has a fringe at the bottom. The horse, ornamented as usual with bosses (phalerae), carries the rider's shield on his left side; three straps hang down from each end of the saddle which is placed on a cloth. Both reliefs were formerly painted. The material employed is limestone, and the dimensions are:—height, 2 mètres 45 centimètres; breadth 84 cent.; thickness, 32 cent.² I exhibit an engraving of the lower portion of this monument,³ also of another

¹ Taylor Combe devotes more than five pages to this subject, and cites many Greek and Latin authors at length. Much the same information may be obtained from Sir H. Ellis's *Townley Gallery*, vol. ii, pp. 141-145, woodcut opposite p. 141. The text and notes are learned, but, as might be expected in a cheap and popular work, the illustration is very inferior.

² References to the literature connected with this Inscription are given in Jacob Becker's *Catalog*, entitled *Die römischen Inschriften und Steinsculpturen des Museums der Stadt Mainz*, 1875, p. 72, No. 222. *Brambach*, *Corpus Inserr. Rhenanarum*, No. 915.

³ The design below the inscription is accurately described by Dr. Lindenschmit—the best living authority, as far I know, for the accoutrements of the Roman army: *Tracht und Bewaffnung des römischen Heeres während der Kaiserzeit, mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Rheinischen Denkmale und Fundstücke*, dargestellt in zwölf Tafeln und erläutert, 1882, p. 24, Taf. viii, No. 2.

In tripartite monuments of this class, the reliefs under the epitaph are, I think, usually, as here, specific; *i.e.*, they indi-

cate the profession or occupation of the deceased. A. Müller considers that Silius belonged to the *Equites Singulares*, or *Singularii*. They are thus described by De Vit (s.v. *singularis* § 11), who has added much to the original article in Forcellini's lexicon, *Fuerunt militum genus praetorianis proximum tum custodiae munere, tum praetenturae vicinia in castris, ex provincialibus institutum*. . . . *Equites praetoriani latere dextro praetorii, singulares imperatoris latere sinistro tendere debent*. *Inserr.* apud Gruter, 367, 2; 516, 8; 1028, 2; 1041, 12; Henzen, in *Annali dell' Istituto Archeologico*, a. 1850. De Vit makes a distinction between these troops and the *ala singularium* in Tacitus, *Historiae* iv, 70; v. Orelli *in loco*, who quotes Raph. Fabretti, p. 354.

In a Roman camp the *Praetentura* above mentioned extended from the *Porta Praetoria* facing the enemy (as we see it now at Ratisbon, *Castra Regina*), to the *Via Principalis*. The central division was called *Latera Praetorii*; and the part behind it, towards the *Porta Decumana*, was the *Retentura*: *Dictionary of Ant.*, pp. 252-254 with plan, s.v. *Castra*: The Roman *Castellum Saalburg*, by Col. Von

An engraving, on a reduced scale, one-ninth of the original, is given by Dr. Lindenschmit, *Die Alterthümer unserer heidnischen Vorzeit*, Heft XI., Tafel 6 (Römische Grabsteine). The group consists of a rider, an attendant and a German lying on the ground: of these figures the first has a helmet with cheek pieces, a lance in his right hand, and an oval shield in his left; his sword is on his right side, but I cannot see any belt by which it was attached. However, the most interesting part of the composition is the barbarian—proved to be so by his wild expression of countenance, pointed beard and hair turned back. Moreover, he attempts to wound the horse with a short curved sword,¹ such as we see amongst the spoils taken from the Germans in the ensign of a cohort, figured by Dr. Lindenschmit, Heft VII., Taf. 5. He wears close-fitting trousers, a part of German costume, fastened by a girdle, and covering the calf of the leg. It is worthy of notice that Lucan, *Pharsalia*, lib. I., v. 431, speaks of the Vangiones (Worms) as imitating the loose trousers of the Sarmatians,

Et qui te laxis imitantur, Sarmata, braccis,
Vangiones.

Raetinium, called by Pliny Rataneum, is now Rudunich, a town of Dalmatia, near the coast, between Salonae and the island of Melita.² In the map which accompanies

ted. The Antonine Itinerary mentions the Andium Insulae, *Itinerarium Maritimum*—In mari Oceano quod Gallias et Britannias interluit, Andium Siedelis Uxantis (Ouessant, Ushant) Sina (Sein), edit. Wesseling, p. 50, 9. Hinc colligi potest Andes aliquando fines suos usque ad mare protulisse; De Vit, *Onomasticon*, s.v. Andes.

I have not met with Andes as the name of a man elsewhere, but in our own country we find some abbreviations that resemble it. Hübner, *Inscr. Brit. Lat.*, No. 143 AND, in castris Romanis prope Trawsfynnyd ad viam Romanam, now . . . at Tan-y-bwlch Hall, Merionethshire; *ibid.* No. 1331¹¹ ANDON, Camuloduni (Colchester) in ansa amphorae aut in margine catini.

¹ The attitude of this figure admirably illustrates a passage in Tacitus: *Annals*, bk. ii, ch. 11, Chariovalda dux Batavorum . . . congestis telis et suffosso equo labitur. Comp. Caesar, *Bell. Gall.* iv, 12, where he relates the war with the

Usipetes and Tenchteri, German tribes on the right bank of the Rhine (*hodie Westphalia*),—suffossisque equis, compluribusque nostris dejectis, and *ibid.*, equo vulnerato dejectus.

An English translation published by Talboys, Oxford, and professing to be a literal version renders *suffosso equo* by "his horse being killed;" but this is inadequate, because the force of the preposition *sub* (under) is not expressed. Tacitus means that the animal was stabbed in the belly. The Italian interpreter, Bernardo Davanzati, does not succeed much better with his phrase *mortogli sotto il cavallo*. Translations of the classics have often been made by second-rate scholars, who through ignorance and carelessness have misrepresented the originals; so they have verified the proverb, *Traduttori, traditori*.

² We are accustomed to the form *Dalmati*, and most editions of Horace in the *Odes*, ii, 1, 16, have

Dalmatico peperit triumpho,

Mr. A. J. Evans's *Researches in Illyricum*, Archæologia, vol. xlviii, between pages 2 and 3, Runovic seems to correspond with the situation of Rataneum. According to Hardouin, the modern name is Mucarisca. Dion Cassius relates that it was set on fire by the inhabitants, and taken by Germanicus; he says the Romans suffered great loss, being burnt as well as wounded. An illustration of this locality is supplied by a monument discovered at Bingen in 1860, erected to a soldier of the third cohort of Dalmatians (DELMATARVM).¹

We may remark that natives of distant provinces served in the army on the Rhenish frontier; so in the next inscription, Becker's Catalogue, No. 224, mention is made of a soldier buried near Mayence, who came from Celeia in Noricum (Styria). Similarly, the Lapidarium Septentrionale records the presence of Spanish troops in Britain—the first and second Ala, and the second Cohort of Astures. It was evidently part of the wise policy of the Romans to distribute their forces in such a way that there should be no danger of sympathizing with disloyal subjects.²

where the victory of Pollio is referred to; but Orelli reads *Delmatico* with the following note: *Scripturam Delmatia præbent Inscriptiones* (Grut. p. 96, l. in inscript. a.u.c. 763, BELLO DELMATICO) interdum et Codices, ut h.l. antiquissimus noster B. Similarly Florus, *Epitome Rerum Romanarum*, lib. iv, cap. xii, § 11, relating a former war with the Dalmatians, says *Hos jam quidem Marcius* (i.e., C. Marcius Figulus, Cos. B.C. 162) *incensa urbe Delminio quasi detruncaverat*, v. the note of Freinshemius in the *Variorum Commentary* of Graevius's edition, p. 508. In the map mentioned above the DELMINENSES are marked East of Salona.

Mr. Arthur Evans has adopted the form *Salona*, which is more usual than *Salona*; both the singular and plural occur in Greek as well as Latin—*Σαλῶνα*, *Σαλῶναι*. The place derives its celebrity chiefly from having been the retreat of Diocletian: Gibbon, chap. xiii, vol. ii, pp. 101–103, edit. Dr. W. Smith. Comp. Lucan, *Pharsalia*, iv, 404, *Qua maris Hadriaci longas ferit unda Salonas*, *Et tepidum in molles Zephyros occurrit lader*.

In Smith's *Dict. of Classical Geography* this reference is given incorrectly.

The modern city of Spálato is near the ruins of the ancient Salona, and is built chiefly on the site of Diocletian's Palace. *Spálatro* is incorrect, because the name comes from the Latin *Palatium*: in this respect books of reference may mislead.

¹ See Lindenschmit, *Die Alterthümer unserer heidnischen Vorzeit*, zehntes Heft, Tafel v. Besides the Inscription, this monument is remarkable for the ornament covering the lower part of the abdomen (somewhat like the *sporran* worn by our Highland regiments), which is unusually well preserved; also for two bas-reliefs of figures from the Mithraic cycle.

² Lapid. Septent., Nos. 27, 28, 116, 121, 943, 285, 288; Bruce, *Roman Wall*, edit. 4to.; First Ala of Astures, Benwell, p. 109; Second Ala of Astures, Chesters, pp. 64, 158; Second cohort of Astures, Great Chesters, pp. 68, 235. Now that many attempts are being made to dismember our own country, it would be well for us to study the lessons of history, and consider by what means the Romans consolidated their empire, enabled it to resist external attacks, and made it last so long.

The cenotaph of Manius Caelius holds a foremost place among the antiquities of the Rhine-land, on account of its intrinsic importance and the event which it commemorates; and I beg permission to describe it as an example parallel to the leading features of the Mayence collection. Mr. Roach Smith has treated this subject in his *Collectanea*, vol ii, but by no means in an exhaustive manner, so that some new particulars may be added on the present occasion.

M' · CAELIVS	M' · CAELIVS
M · L ·	M · L ·
PRIVATVS ·	THIAMINVS ·
M'CAELIO · T · F · LEM —	BoN —
— O LEG · XIIIX · ANN —	LIIs
· CIDIT · BELLO VARIANO OSSA	
· NFERRE · LICEBIT · P · CAELIVS · T · F ·	
LEM · FRATER · FECIT ·	

Manius Caelius, Manii libertus Privatus. Manius Caelius, Manii libertus Thiaminus.—Manio Caelio, Titi filio, Lemonia (tribu) Bon (onia, lega)to legionis duodevicesimae, annorum quinquaginta trium semis. (Ce)cidit bello Variano. Ossa (i)nferre licebit. Publius Caelius, Titi filius Lemonia (tribu) frater fecit.

Manius Caelius Privatus, freedman of Manius. Manius Caelius Thiaminus, freedman of Manius—To Manius Caelius, son of Titus, of the Lemonian tribe, of Eononia, general commanding the eighteenth legion, fifty-three and a half years old, He fell in the war of Varus. The bones may be brought here. Publius Caelius, son of Titus, of the Lemonian tribe, his brother, erected this monument.¹

The great difficulty here is in the beginning of the second line, where the military rank of the deceased is indicated. I have translated the inscription according to Overbeck's supposition, viz., that we have here the termination of the word *legato*. Some read O (inverted C)

¹ Varus was defeated by the German chieftain Arminius, and his three legions were nearly destroyed, A.D. 7, in the Saltus Teutoburgiensis, Teutoburger Wald. Hence Tacitus, *Annals*, bk. ii, chap. 15, puts into the mouth of Arminius these taunting words, *Hos esse Romanos, Varii exercitus fugacissimos* (the worst runaways), with which he

encourages his troops to oppose Germanicus.

A colossal statue of Hermann, the national hero, has been erected on the spot where the battle is supposed to have been fought. It can easily be visited in an excursion from Detmold: Murray's *Handbook for the Rhine and North Germany*, 20th edition, 886, p. 178 sq.

instead of TO and explain it as the abbreviation of *Centurioni*, which agrees very well with the *vitis* (staff made of a vine-branch) in the hand of Caelius; but this view cannot be accepted because the letter on the stone is an O fully closed. As there is not room for three large capitals, one of the critics has proposed TrO as a solution of the problem, these characters would of course stand for *Tribuno*, we may compare BoN for Bononia in the preceding line, and account for the disappearance of the R by the fact that the stone is here much weathered. Lastly, it has been conjectured that O stands for *Optio*, the assistant of the centurion (captain) or vice-centurion as the Germans translate it.¹ The lexicographer Festus uses the word *adjutor* to explain *Optio*; and hence probably modern dictionaries have rendered it by *adjutant*, the officer who has charge of the drill in a regiment, as the adjutant-general superintends the discipline of the army. But the centurion's deputy had no special functions of this kind, so that, I think, our military title *lieutenant* would be more equivalent. One would expect to find the Dative here, in apposition with the name Caelio which precedes; but if *Optio* is read, it must be in the Nominative, and constructed with the following verb *cecidit*.²

On each side of Manius Caelius is the bust of a freedman whom he had manumitted, surmounting a pedestal.

¹ Overbeck thought that the letters on the stone were LTO, but admits that there is no other example of this abbreviation of *legato* in Roman lapidary inscriptions. Dr. A. Müller, of Flensburg, follows the opinion that Caelius was a vice- or sub-centurion: see his elaborate and copiously illustrated article *Waffen* in Banmeister's *Denkmäler des Klassischen Altertums*, 3 Band, p. 2049 sq.

At first sight one would infer from the number and magnificence of his decorations that Caelius was of higher rank than a centurion; but the argument is by no means conclusive, because the effigy of an officer who belonged to this class, the Veronese Q. Sertorius, presents an appearance even more splendid. Lindenschmidt, *Op. citat.*, Heft vi, Taf. 5, discusses fully the interpretations above mentioned, and cites an apposite passage from Velleius Paterculus, who records the heroism of Calpurnius Caelius, taken

prisoner in the same war, *Hist. Rom.* lib. ii, cap. 120, § 6, edit. J. C. Orelli; p. 74 B, edit. Lipsius, 1607.

² *Optio* occurs on a votive altar found at Saalburg, and now deposited in the Museum at Homburg.

IN . H . D . D . GENIO
C . SO . CVPIIT .
PRIMVS AVSO
. OPTIO . POSIT

Das Römercastell Saalburg von A. V. Cohausen, Oberst. z. D. und Conservator und L. Jacobi, Baumeister, p. 46; English Translation, p. 24. This inscription has been carved over an earlier one, like a palimpsest. I suspect that in some cases the letters have not been copied correctly. Riddle and Arnold in their *English-Latin Dictionary* propose *sergeant* as a translation of *optio*, but the inferiority of a non-commissioned officer renders this term unsuitable.

In this case, as usual, the *libertini* received the *praenomen* and *nomen gentilicium* of the patron. We have a famous example of this practice in the comic poet Publius Terentius Afer, the freedman of Publius Terentius Lucanus, a Roman senator.¹ It is worthy of remark that these two busts are smaller than that of the chief personage. So in the Cathedral at Mayence, among the monuments of the episcopal electors, Bishop Peter von Aspelt is represented as large as life, while the emperors whom he had crowned are only half the size.² On the other hand, Egypt supplies illustrations of a date long antecedent to the group now before us. The first plate in vol. i. of Wilkinson's *Ancient Egyptians* shows Rameses III returning with his prisoners to Thebes; he looks like a giant surrounded by a generation of dwarfs, for, as compared with the monarch, both the captives and his sons, who attend as fan-bearers, are quite diminutive.

However, the central figure demands much closer attention than the subordinate ones, the superiority of Caelius being indicated not only by size, but by position and decorations. He wears the *corona civica*, one of the most honourable distinctions, and conferred on him who had saved the life of a fellow citizen in battle. It consisted of a wreath of oak leaves and acorns,³ which in this case were united by a medallion. Round the neck is a *torquis* standing out prominently, so that it cannot be confounded with the folds of the under clothing.⁴ Two armlets (*armillae*) are suspended by ribbons in front of

¹ Bentley in the Preface to his edition of the *Fables* of Phaedrus and the *Proverbs* (*Sententiae*), of Publius Syrus, bound up with Terence, calls attention to the emancipation of these authors—*Hires pari conditione Liberti et Peregrini*.

The manumitted slave was called the *libertus* of his former master, but he was said to belong to the class of *libertini*. This distinction is explained in the *Dictionary of Antiquities*, p. 705. Art. by Mr. G. Long, and in Adam's *Roman Antt.* p. 28, edit. 1834.

² Murray's *Handbook for North Germany*, &c., notices this fact; comp. Baedeker, *Rheinlande* p. 200. The name is variously spelt, Aichspalt and Asfeldt.

³ A good example is supplied by the brass coins of Vespasian, which are large

enough to show clearly both the leaves and the acorns: legend of reverse

R.S.P.Q.R. ADSECTORI LIBERTATIS PVBLICAE

Dans une couronne de chêne. Cohen, *Médailles Impériales*, tome i, p. 326 sq., Nos. 462-464; also S.P.Q.R. OB CIV. SER., i.e. *cives servatos*, Nos. 465-469. Eckhel, *Doct. Num. Vet.*, vol. vi, p. 329—*Thesaurus Morellianus*, tom. iii, *Nummi aurei Imperatoris Vespasiani*, Tab. v, num. 30; Tab. vi, 8, 9, 10. *Numismata Vespasiani ex Ære Magno*, Tab. xiii, 15, 16; Tab. xiiii, 17, *Scriptum intra coronam queream* ΜΑΡΚΟΣ ΠΑΝΚΙΟΣ ΟΥΑΡΟΣ ΑΝΘΗΑΤΟΣ.

⁴ Rein, ap. Baumeister *Art. Waffen*, conjectures that the large ring round the neck is the *torquis major*, and that the smaller ones on the breast are the *torques*

the breast, and smaller bracelets adorn the wrists; but the bosses (*phaleræ*) are still more conspicuous, being five medallions arranged in two rows; in the upper Medusa's head takes the central place between two others that are ivy-crowned and evidently Bacchanalian: below, one medallion is for the most part concealed behind the wrist; the other, which is distinctly visible, exhibits a lion's head.¹ Caelius wears a leathern cuirass (*lorica*); this may be inferred from the appearance of the shoulders, where there is no sign of joints or hinges, which would be required if the armour was metallic, in order that the arms might work freely. He holds in his right hand the vine-staff (*vitis*), usually indicating a centurion, but also carried by *evocati* who had the same military rank.²

The classical tourist ought not to leave the Museum without taking a turn in the court yard and examining

minores, which seems very plausible. In support of this opinion, he refers to an inscription in Gruter, p. xcvi, l, quoted above for another purpose. It is given with some variation by Orelli, No. 1584, *IANO PATRI || AVG. SACRVM || C. IVLIVS C. F. STR || ATOR AED. DONATVS AB. TI. CAES. || AVG. F. AVGVSTO TORQVE || MAIORE. BELLO DELMATICO. OB HONOREM || II VIRATVS CVM LIBERIS || SVIS POSVIT. The editor remarks *Mihi . . . de fraude suspecta est*, but the asterisk prefixed implies that he doubted whether the inscription is genuine.

¹ *Phaleræ* were originally metal ornaments attached to the harness of horses, and were afterwards worn by soldiers on their breasts. There were two kinds, plain and figured; of the former we see an example in the monument of Cneius Musius, an eagle-bearer (*aquilifer*), engraved by Lindenschmit, Op. citat., Heft iv, Taf. 6; they consist of nine round discs—the same shape as Polybius denotes by the term *φιάλη* (*patera*), lib. vi, cap. 39, § 3, τῶ δὲ καταβαλόντι καὶ σκυλεύσαντι τῶ μὲν περὶ φιάλην, τῶ δὲ ἑπτεὶ φάλαρα. Of the latter variety some specimens were found in 1858 at Lauersfort between Moers and Krefeld, closely corresponding with the decorations of Caelius: they are nine medallions with the devices in high relief—Gorgons, youthful Bacchus, Venus, Silenus, lion, etc.

Persius uses the word *phaleræ* in a secondary and figurative sense to mean external advantages that make a show: Sat. iii, v. 30, Ad populum phaleras: ego te intus et in cute novi.

Away! these trappings to the rabble show:

Me they deceive not; for your soul I know,

Within, without.

Gifford's Translation.

Heinrich has a good note in his Commentary. *Phaleræ*, Pferdeschmuck, Putz überhaupt, Blendwerk. "Das ist Blendwerk für den grossen Haufen, nicht für den Denkenden, den Weisen!"

² Representations of centurions in military costume are by no means common, but a very interesting one was discovered by Mr. George Joslin near Colchester, August, 1868. The Rev. B. Lodge has written an accurate description of this sepulchral monument, in which the figure carries a *vitis*. This memoir is accompanied by a good engraving, which, I think, has been repeated in Lewin's Life and Epistles of St. Paul. Comp. Juvenal, Sat. viii, v. 247, sq.,

Nodosam post haec frangebat vertice vitem.

Si lentus pigrâ muniret castra dolabrâ; and Tacitus, Annals, lib. i, cap. 23. Centurio Lucilius interficitur, cui militariibus facetiis vocabulum "cedo alteram" indiderant, quia fracta vite in tergo militis alteram clara voce ac rursus aliam poscebat. See the instructive notes of Brotier and Orelli.

Juvenal says that the knotty vine-staff was broken about the head of Marius, if he was slow to work with his adze in fortifying the camp. Tacitus, narrating the mutiny of the Pannonian legions,

the remains of a Roman bridge deposited there;¹ the piles (*Pfahlrost*), were removed from the Rhine in 1881, and are arranged as they stood originally. We have not direct statements of historians or evidence of inscriptions to prove the exact date of erection; but we should bear in mind that, according to Florus, Drusus placed garrisons on the Meuse, Elbe and Weser, and as mentioned above, built a chain of more than fifty fortresses on the Rhine.² Moreover, Tacitus mentions his fort on the Taunus, and Dion Cassius another erected by him in the country of the Catti, close to the Rhine, which seems to be Castel opposite Mainz. Hence we may conclude, with great probability, that he at least began the bridge, of which we now see the substructions, in order to preserve the communications with the right bank, and to make both sides of the stream thoroughly Roman, as they afterwards became.²

A leaden medallion found in the Saône at Lyons in the

mentions that the rioters put to death Lucilius, a centurion nicknamed *cedo alteram* (give me another), because, when he had broken his cane on the back of a soldier, he used to call aloud for another and then another. These two passages, written about the same time, are mutually illustrative; what is wanting in the poet is supplied by the historian and *vice versa*.

As the bust of a freedman is placed on either side of Caelius, say at Colchester the inscription informs us that the sepulchral monument was erected by two freedmen of the deceased: VERECUNDVS ET . NOVICIVS . LIB . POSVERVNT.

The *vitis*, being a special badge of distinction, was used to express the centurion's office: Ælii Spartiani Hadrianus, cap. 10, §6, *locum castris caperet, nulli vitem nisi robusto et bonae famae daret*, with the note of Salmassius in the Variorum edition, Lugduni Batav, 1671. For other illustrations see the woodcuts in Rich's Companion to the Latin Dict., s. v. *Evocati* and *Vitis*.

¹ He can hardly see these relics without thinking of Caesar's bridge over the Rhine described in his Gallic War, book iv, chap. 17. An engraving of it is given in Oudendorp's excellent edition, 4to., 1737, p. 187, *Pontis figura a Cæsare decem diebus ad Rhenum trajiciendum effecti*; it also appears as a frontispiece to Moberly's edition, 1879. But the two representations do not altogether agree; the latter is, I think, preferable, as coin-

ciding more closely with Cæsar's account; it shows the diagonal braces (*fibulae*) "passing from the head of each pile to the middle point of the next pile up or down stream." Note p. 269 s. f.

Cæsar broke the bridge down, *pontem rescidit*, *ibid.* c. 19, and its position cannot be determined exactly: some authorities place it near Bonn, but the majority are in favour of a site a little below Coblenz, near Andernach (*Antunacum*) on the left bank, and Neuwied on the right. Merivale, History of the Romans under the Empire, edit. 8vo., vol. i, p. 46 sq. and note: C. Julii Cæsaris Commentarii de Bello Gallico, edit. Prof. Hermann Rheinhard, Illustrierte Schulausgabe, 1889, pp. 87-89, Taf. V^a, V^b; pp. 243-245, Addenda, Zum Bau der Rheinbrücke.

² Florus, iv. 12, 26, *loc. citat.*, and see the note of Freinshemius in the Variorum Commentary, edit. Graevius, tom. i, p. 514.

³ Tacitus, Annals, i, 56, speaking of Germanicus the son of Drusus, says, *positoque castello super vestigia paterni praesidii in monte Tauno, expeditum exercitum in Chattos rapit*. Some suppose that the Saalburg, near Homburg, is meant; *vid. interpp. in loco*. Dion Cassius, lib. liv, cap. 33, *καὶ ἕτερον (i.e. προύριον) ἐν Χάττοις παρ' αὐτῷ τῷ Πήνῳ*.

Among the later Roman Emperors two deserve to be noticed in connection with the occupation of this region, Probus and

year 1862 seems to indicate that the arches were of stone. It was first published in the *Revue Numismatique*, but the most complete account of it is by Becker in the *Annalen des Vereins für Nass. Alterthumskunde und Geschichtsforschung*, IX, p. 152 ff, und X., p. 158 ff.¹ The ancient bridge was in the space between the present which is of iron, and the site of an earlier one of boats, but very much nearer the former position. I have not yet been able to study the details of construction, and must refer the inquirer to two German Memoirs: *Der Römische Brückenkopf in Kastel bei Mainz und die dortige Römerbrücke*, von Julius Grimm, 1882; and *Die römische Rheinbrücke bei Mainz*, von Baurath Heim und Dr. Wilh. Velke in the *Zeitschrift des Vereins zur Erforschung der Rheinischen Geschichte u. Alterthümer in Mainz*, Band III., Heft 4, 1887. These publications are illustrated by plans and drawings on a scale sufficiently large.²

I have already said that nothing Roman can be seen at

Valentinian. The former is supposed but incorrectly, to have constructed the *Limes Transrhenanus* which protected the Agri Decumates (Suabia). Gibbon, chap xii (edit. Smith, vol. ii, p. 46), makes this statement, but does not give any ancient authority for it; and no evidence of the kind exists. See Mr. Thomas Hodgkin's Memoir quoted below, *The Pfahlgraben*, etc., pp. 82-88, especially p. 86 sqq. Again, it has been said that the culture of the vine was introduced on the Rhine and Moselle by the same Emperor; this account does not agree well with a passage in Vopiscus, *Life of Probus*, c. 18 § 8, *Gallis omnibus et Hispanis ac Britannis hinc permisit ut vites haberent vinumque conficerent, ipse Almam Montem in Illyrico circa Sirmium militari manu fossum lecta vite conseruit*. Perhaps we ought to read *conseruit* (planted): comp. Virgil, *Eclogue i*, v. 73, en, quis conseruimus agros! Cicero, *De Senectute* xvii, 59, *agrum diligenter conseruitum*. In Livy, x, 24, Drakenboreh's text has *quam arborem conseruisset*, but the recent editors, Madvig and Weissenborn adopt the conjecture of Glarcanus *conseruisset*.

Gibbon, in his narrative of Valentinian's campaigns and the defence of the Gallic frontier, remarks "The banks of the Rhine, from its source to the straits of the ocean, were closely planted with strong castles and convenient towers,"

chap. xxv, edit. Smith, iii, 260 sq. It should be observed that the historian rightly uses the plural number in the beginning of the sentence. Montesquieu, *Grandeur et Décadence des Romains*, chap. xvii, *Valentinien sentit plus que personne la nécessité de l'ancien plan; il employa toute sa vie à fortifier, les bords du Rhin, à y faire des levées, y bâtir des châteaux, y placer des troupes, leur donner le moyen d'y subsister*.

¹This medallion is now preserved in the Cabinet des Médailles of the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, and was shown to me by M. Ernest Babelon, bibliothécaire au Cabinet des Antiques. The reverse is perfectly plain.

²Four plates are appended to the former work: Taf. i *Kastel, Situation des Römercastells und der Brücke*. Taf. ii *Längenprofil in der Linie A-B des Situationsplanes mit geometrischer Ansicht der rekonstruirten ersten Römerbrücke*. Längenprofil c-b, 30^m nördlich von A-B. Taf. iii, 1, *Röm. Medaille nach Fröhner*, 2 *Castellmauer*. Taf. iv *Kastel, Nach einer amtlichen französischen Aufnahme von 1807*.

The latter memoir is illustrated by six plates, Taf. ix-xiv: the following may be mentioned as specially interesting; ix, *Situation der Pfeilerreste der römischen Rheinbrücke bei Mainz*; xi, *Pfahlrost der röm. Rheinbrücke (aufgestellt im Hofe des kurfürstl. Schlosses)*; xii

Mayence outside the precincts of the Museum; this is true for the city, but in its immediate neighbourhood the citadel contains a monument which is Roman both in name and in reality. It is a tower, now about twelve mètres high, at the south-west corner of the fortress, which stands on a hill and has succeeded the ancient *castrum*. The modern name of this structure, *Eigelstein* or *Eichelstein*, has been derived from the German *Eichel*, an acorn, because its shape is supposed to be similar. But this etymology seems fanciful and far-fetched, it would be better to connect the name with the Latin *aquila* (French *aigle*), especially as an old tradition relates that the building was erected by the legions in honour of Drusus. The words *Eigel* (*Eichel*) and *aquila* resemble each other more closely than appears at first sight, because the Romans pronounced QU as K or the hard C which is interchanged with G, as in the name Caius, frequently written Gaius.¹ It is said that games

Römische Werkzeuge von der Rheinbrücke. Hübner, after investigating the inscriptions, concludes that the Bridge should not be attributed to Drusus, but that it was probably erected about the end of the first century of our era.

There is an important and well known passage in Eumenius relating to this subject; Panegyricus Constantio Caesari, i.e. Constantius Chlorus (the Pale) father of Constantine the Great, Emperor, A.D. 305-306, cap. ii, A ponte Rheni usque ad Danubii transitum Guntiensem devastata atque exhausta penitus Allemannia. Guntia has been identified with Günzburg, which is situated a little east of Ulm, at the junction of the river Günz with the Danube; see the French translation "Discours d'Eumène" by Landiot and Rocket, note p. 176 sq. Cf. Brunet, Dict. de Géographie, s.v. Some authorities, however, assign Guntia to a different position: v. index to the Antonine Itinerary, edit. Parthey and Pinder.

Ammianus speaks of a bridge at Mayence constructed by the Emperor Julian, lib. xvii, c. 1, § 2 *petiturus ipse Mogontiacum, ut ponte compacto transgressus in suis requireret barbaros, cum nullum reliquisset in nostris, refragante vetabatur exercitu.*

The most recent discovery with which I am acquainted is that noticed in the Indépendance Belge of September 11, 1889. Un travail exécuté à Mayence pour l'agrandissement d'une usine a mis à nu, et dans un parfait état de conservation sous sa gangue de plâtre, une des

piles du vieux pont romain de l'antique Magontia. Ce précieux débris a 6 mètres d'épaisseur.

The same No. of the Zeitschrift quoted above contains an article by Dr. Jakob Keller entitled Die neuen römischen Inschriften des Museums zu Mainz, Zweier Nachtrag zum Beckerschen Katalog, which forms a valuable supplement to preceding publications.

¹ We infer that among the Romans QU was equivalent to K, from the fact that the preceding vowel is short in such words as *aqua*, *equus*; if QU had been pronounced, according to our English usage, as KW, that vowel would have been long by position. Moreover, *ecus* sometimes occurs instead of *equus*, e.g., in Heyne's Virgil edited by Wagner, Æneid vii, 189, *Picus ecum domitor*, i.e. *equorum*; ibid. v. 651; and ix. 26, *Dives ecum*: cf. Monro's note on Lucretius, i, 477. Accordingly, QU, like K, interchanges with the Greek Gamma: *quidem* is the same word as *γε*; cf. *equidem* *ἐγωγε* *siquidem* *εἷγε*. Key's alphabet, &c., Essay on Terentian Metres, p. 141 sq., and Latin Dict., 1888, s. v. *quidem* §13.

The explanation of Eigelstein given above is confirmed by the case of Aquileia, parallel both in form and derivation. Strabo, lib. iv, c. vi, §9, sqq. calls this city *Ἀκυλῖα*. and Ptolemy lib. iii, c. 1, §25 *Ἀκυλῖα κολωνία* (Pape, Wörterbuch der Griechischen Eigennamen). The place received its name from the accidental omen of an eagle at the time of its foundation; Eustathius, commentary

and military spectacles were exhibited here on the anniversary of the death of Drusus. I have not found the authority for this statement ; but if correct, it would tend to support the local tradition. We have already commented on the cenotaph of Cælius, which records one of the greatest disasters that ever befell the Romans, ranking with the surrender at the Caudine Forks, the battle of Cannæ, and the ignominious defeat of Crassus. Here, as we stand on the height which commands an extensive view over Mayence, the Rhine, and Mount Taunus in the horizon, we are reminded of a Roman prince, distinguished equally by his high lineage and his personal achievements. He was descended on the father's side from C. Claudius Nero, and on the mother's from M. Livius Salinator—the generals who defeated Hasdrubal on the river Metaurus, and by this decisive victory saved Rome in the second Punic war.¹ He was the stepson of Augustus, the father of Germanicus and the Emperor Claudius. But his brilliant, though brief career, attracts our notice far more than the deeds of his ancestors or his relation to the Imperial family. Drusus carried on the war against the Rhæti and Vindelici (Tyrol and Bavaria) which the verse, of Horace celebrate,² administered the province of Gauls invaded Germany, penetrated into the interior of that country as far as the Elbe, made a canal between the Rhine and the Zuyder Zee, erected a fort at Aliso on the Lippe, and died under thirty years of age. He was a favourite with the Romans, because they thought he would restore their old republican government, and so popular with the army that the soldiers wished to keep his body ; which, however, was removed by order of Augustus, and burnt in the Campus Martius ; the ashes

on Dionysius Periegetes v. 378 (381) ; see Sir E. H. Bunbury's Art. s.v. in Smith's Dict. of Classical Geography. Comp. the figure of an eagle-bearer (*aquilifer*) engraved in Dr. Lindenschmit's *Alterthümer unserer heidnischen Vorzeit*, Heft iv, Taf. vi, with copious explanations, monument of Cn. Musius ; *AQUILIF*, occurs in the inscription under the effigy. The eagle, which is very conspicuous, holds an acorn in its beak and a thunderbolt in its claws. In the same plate No. 2 shows a *signifer* (standard bearer) ; comp. Heft xi, Taf. vi, also a *signifer* ;

the eagle appears as one of the ornaments of the *signum*.

¹ Horace, Odes iv, 4, 37 sqq.

Quid debeas, O Roma, Noronibus,
Testis Metaurum flumen et Hasdrubal

Devictus et puleher fugatis
Ille dies Latio tenebris.

See the note in Wickham's edition, 1874, p. 277.

² *Ibid.* v, 17 sq.

Videre Ræti bella sub Alpibus
Drusum gerentem Vindelici.

where Bentley and Orrelli read Rætis,

were deposited in that Mausoleum of the Emperor which is well known as one of the chief monuments in the Eternal City.¹

The feminine form *Drusa*, as far as I know, does not occur in the authors, but we are all familiar with the diminutive of it, *Drusilla*, wife of the governor who trembled while Paul preached before him.²

If the visitor is willing to extend his walk, and proceed for about half an hour from one of the western gates of Mayence (Gau Thor or Binger Thor), he will reach the aqueduct that supplied the Castrum. Its remains are

¹ This Mausoleum, described by Strabo, v, iii, 8, is situated in the northern part of the Campus Martius, between the Corso and the Tiber. In modern times it has been converted into a place of public amusement; when I was at Rome, I observed many placards on the walls announcing equestrian performances in the Mausoleo di Augusto, as in a hippodrome.

The death of Drusus was caused by his horse falling on his leg, which we learn from the Epitome of the last book of Livy, edit. Drakenborch cxl, edit. Madvig cxlii. It is worthy of notice that the historian ends his great work with the death of Drusus, for he thus indicates that the event was one of national importance.

Eutropius, lib. vii, c. 13, mentions the erection of a memorial in honour of Drusus at Mayence; it may remind us of another at Rome—the arch that bears his name within the Porta S. Sebastiano, where the Via Appia issues from the city. Suetonius, Claudius, c. 1, Senatus, inter alia complura, marmoreum arcum cum tropæis viâ Appiâ decrevit. Rossini has three very fine engravings of this Arch—Avanzi dell' Arco di Druso (1), dalla parte interna della Città (2) dalla parte esterna della Città; the third plate, Ristaurato, shows the adjoining aqueduct constructed subsequently in the time of Caracalla, together with illustrative medals.

For an account of the campaigns of Drusus and an estimate of their permanent results see Merivale, History of the Romans under the Empire, edit. Svo, vol. iii, chaps. xxxv, xxxvi, esp. p. 238 sq. In the Index, art. Drusus, some of the numerals are incorrect.

² Acts, xxiv, 24, Μετὰ δὲ ἡμέρας τινὰς παραγενόμενος ὁ Φῆλιξ σὺν Δρουσίλλῃ τῇ γυναικί, οὕσῃ Ἰουδαία, μετεπέμψατο τὸν Παῦλον. This Drusilla was sister of

Agrippa and Berenice mentioned *ibid.* xxv, 23. Conybeare and Howson, vol. ii, p. 352. Tacitus, Histories, v, 9, speaking of Felix, says Drusilla *Cleopatrac et Antonii nepte* in matrimonium accepta; but this statement may be reasonably doubted.

De Vit in his Onomasticon enumerates four Drusillae; one of them is well known from the coins of Caligula: Cohen, Méd Imp., vol. i, p. 148, pl. ix, No. 13, Grand Bronze; the reverse bears the legend AGRIPPINA DRVSYLLA IVLIA, the three sisters are represented as Security, Concord and Fortune, each with appropriate emblems. Comp. another medal in the same plate, and text p. 155.

The diminutive suffix of the name has lost its force, as is also frequently the case with common nouns, *e.g.* the Italian *sorella* sister, *fratello* brother; so *fratelli* is the term used for brothers who are partners in business, where no idea of littleness can be supposed. Moreover, Prisca and Priscilla are said of the same person, apparently without any difference of meaning; comp. Acts, xviii, 2, καὶ εὗρω τινα Ἰουδαῖον ὀνόματι Ἀκύλαν, Ποντικὸν τῷ γένει καὶ Πρίσκιλλαν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ, with Romans, xvi, 3, Ἀσπάσασθε Πρίσκαν καὶ Ἀκύλαν τοὺς συνεργοὺς μου ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ, and 2 Tim. iv, 19: Alford's Greek Testament note on Acts, xviii, 2; Conybeare and Howson, vol. i, p. 455 sq., text and notes. Priscus and Prisca occur frequently in inscriptions: for examples v. C.I.L. for Gallia Cisalpina and Hispania, Cognomina virorum et mulierum.

Ἀκύλας, "which is merely the Greek form of Aquila," corroborates what has been previously said about the pronunciation of qu.

I have followed the Authorised Version in using the word "trembled;" the Revisers have substituted "terrified;" this is less graphic, but accurately corresponds with the original *ἐμφοβος γενόμενος*,

situated on rising ground above the village of Zahlbach, near which many inscriptions have been found, because the burial place of the legions and of the earliest Christian church was in this suburb. The water-course was in great part carried over arches, like those that we see radiating from Rome through the Campagna. It began at Königsbrunnen (Königsborn) near *Finthen*—a name connected with *fons* (Italian *fontana*)—and pierced the hills which the road to Bingen traverses. Between Drais and Gonzenheim foundations of a wall have been discovered, extending 1062 paces, and continuous with it are substructions of piers, about 270 in number, over a plain named Addach. From this place to Zahlbach it is supposed that there was a row of 245 piers; but at the latter point fifty-nine, called by the common people Langsteine, stand to this day, so that conjecture gives place to certainty here. Some have still a height of twenty to thirty feet, though they shared the fate of many ancient edifices, and were used in the twelfth century as building materials for a monastery. Hence, for a distance of 250 paces, the aqueduct crossed the Wildbach to the plateau where the *Castrum* was erected. The exact site of its termination has not been discovered; Murray and Baedeker mention the Entenpfuhl (Ducks' pool) between Forts Stahlberg and Philipp, but Colonel Cohausen, who excavated there in 1853 to a depth of ten feet, could find no traces of a reservoir, but only soldiers' graves, buttons of uniforms, &c., belonging to the Revolutionary War.¹

The total length is 8000 Schritt, rather less than 7000 yards.² Somewhat more than half of the aqueduct is underground or upon the soil; the remainder is carried

¹ For the details of the Aqueduct I am indebted to a memoir entitled *Die römischen Wasserleitungen von Trier, Mainz und Köln, und ein ähnliches Project für Frankfurt*. Vortrag, gehalten im Alterthumsverein den 16 März 1866 von dem kön. preuss. Oberstlieutenant A. v. Cohausen; v. esp. pp. 149-151. *Mittheilungen des Gesch.-Ver. Frankfurt*, iii, 1868. This eminent antiquary is best known by his important work on the Roman Boundary wall in Germany, 1881, which is copiously illustrated; *Taf. i* shows the *Linea Transrhœnana*,

together with the Vallum Hadriani and the Vallum Pii in Britain—all on the same scale. In the Supplement, 1886, will be found a list of the author's numerous publications.

From existing remains it is evident that the Aqueduct at Mayence far surpassed that at Trèves in architectural magnificence.

² Hilpert, *German Dictionary*, s.v. *Schritt* [as a measure or scale of distance] a pace, a step. *Ein gemeiner Schritt*, a common pace or step of the usual length [*i.e.*, five-sixths of a yard.]

over about 500 pillars and arches. The higher piers taper from three feet at the base to two in the upper part: their depth at the springing of the arches is between seven and eight feet, and the interval from one to another is between sixteen and seventeen feet.

It is known from marks on bricks that the 14th legion built the Aqueduct, as from inscriptions on tools we learn the names of the legions employed in constructing or repairing the bridge; the latter are given in Tafel xiv., accompanying the Memoir by Heim and Velke in the *Zeitschrift*, quoted above.¹ No trace of the masonry forming the canal remains except a gutter-stone now preserved in the Museum at Mayence; but from the depth of the piers, and by comparison with other aqueducts, it may be inferred that the breadth was from 2 to $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet, and the height from $4\frac{1}{2}$ to 5 feet.²

Considering the importance of Mayence, some persons might be surprised at these small dimensions, and expect to find here the colossal grandeur that we admire at Metz. But I think the difference is not difficult to explain. In the former case the design was simply to meet the requirements of the Roman garrison, without regard to the towns-people, Moguntiacum being a great military station,

¹ *Zeitschrift . . . der Rheinischen Gesch. u. Alterthümer* in Mainz, 1887, Band iii, Heft 4, Verzeichniss der Tafeln at the end of this Part. Taf. xiv, fig. 2, Holzschlängel (Funde i, 1); L (ucius) VALE (rius) LEG xiiii. Fig. 3 Gusstück aus Blei (Funde i, 2); LEG xvi, with letters reversed as in a seal. Fig. 4 Legionbaustein (Funde ii, 21).

LEG'XIIII

G · M · V ·

> · G · VELSI · SECV

Expansion

Legio xiiii

Genina Martia Victrix

centuria g (sic) Velsi Secundi.

Observe here >, the abbreviation of *centuria*. Dr. Bruce, *Lapidarium Septentrionale*, p. 13, No. 5, says "The angular mark is supposed to represent a vine sapling, the badge of the centurion's office." But I should rather think that it is a C reversed, and the initial letter of *centuria*, formed in an unusual way to denote a special application, and to distinguish it from c used to mean *Caius*, *centum* etc., just as R stands for the reverse of a medal. Besides it would be

easier to cut two right lines than to form the curve of c on a stone. See examples in *Lapid. Septent. index* xiii; and in Dr. Bruce's *Roman Wall*, edit. 4to pp. 415-417, five woodcuts of Centurial Stones; they generally indicated the portion of work which the troop had done. *Comp. Catalogue of Antiquities in the Museum of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, p. 94, II, Nos. 145, 147-150. o also stands for *centurio*, Orelli *Inscr.* Nos. 488, 894: Key, *Latin Dict.* initial article c, § 53.

² The student of the history of Mayence should consult Brambach's *Corpus Inscriptionum Rhenanarum*; there is a separate article, to which a table of contents is prefixed, under the heading *Mogontiacum et Castellum Mattiacorum*, pp. 190-257, Nos. 974-1377. Of the sections the most apposite for my Paper are B. *Extra moenia sive in ipsis moenibus*. 17 *Zahlbach*, 1136-1271; *Legio xiiii* occurs frequently 1172-1196. D. *In ripa Rheni sive in ipso Rheno*, 1301-1309; E. *Castell. Mattiacor.*, *Kastel* 1310-1359.

but neither an imperial residence nor a commercial centre. On the other hand, the Aqueduct at Metz, which some have attributed to Drusus, more probably belongs to the latter half of the fourth Century and to the reign of Valentinian the First or some other Emperor of that period, when the frontier was threatened by the Germans, and the Romans, alive to their own interests, endeavoured to secure the fidelity of the provincials by undertaking public works that were both magnificent and useful. At Mogontiacum they built for themselves; at Metz for the population around them. The aqueduct we have been investigating is more analogous to the one at Luynes which I had the honour to describe to you in my paper on Touraine: *there* the only motive of construction was to supply the fortress that commanded the valley of the Loire.¹

(To be Continued).

¹ Archaeol. Journ., 1888, vol. xlv, pp. 235-237. The aqueduct is well shown in

Sauvagnère's Plate; it has also been photographed.

ON A HITTITE SEAL PURCHASED AT SMYRNA BY
THE REV. GREVILLE I. CHESTER.¹

By PROFESSOR SAYCE.

The Rev. Greville I. Chester has been fortunate enough to secure another addition to our stock of Hittite inscriptions. As the object on which the inscription is found was purchased at Smyrna, it may be inferred that it was discovered somewhere in Asia Minor. Unfortunately it is impossible to fix more definitely the exact spot from which it may have come. Smyrna is the centre of the trade in the coins and other antiquities which are found in the interior of Anatolia; I have myself bought there cylinders which were imported from Kappadokia, and it is therefore quite possible that the "Hittite" relic obtained by Mr. Chester may have come from an equal distance.

The relic is a seal, though I was at first a good deal puzzled to ascertain its original use. It is a circular bead of brown limestone with flattened sides, on which inscriptions have been engraved. A hole has been drilled through the thickest part, passing between the sides on



which the characters are inscribed. This hole, however, was not the first which it had been attempted to make. There are remains of another hole which has been drilled for a short distance into the stone, and then left unfinished.

The hole shows that the object was intended for suspension. But it could hardly have been intended for purposes of ornamentation. The stone of which it consists is not a beautiful one, and seems to have been selected

¹ Read at the Monthly Meeting of the Institute, June 5th, 1890.

simply on account of the ease with which an inscription could be cut upon it. Moreover the inscriptions on both faces are executed with an equal amount of care and attention. Yet, if it had been intended that the "bead" should be used merely as the pendent of a necklace one of these faces would have been necessarily hidden. Finally, as we shall see, the inscription on one of the faces contains a royal name, that on the other the name of the king's father. It is difficult to suppose that such inscriptions could have formed part of a necklace.

A clue, however, to the original purpose of the object is afforded by the Babylonian cylinders, the use of which, as we know, extended itself as far as Kappadokia and the country of the Hittites. They, too, were pierced with holes through which strings were passed to attach them to the wrists of their owners. The cylinder, in fact, was the signet of the Babylonian gentleman, which had to be employed whenever he wrote his name or witnessed a deed.

The bead Mr. Chester has bought must have served a like purpose. It must have been a royal seal attached to the wrist by the string or chain which passed through it. This will explain the unfinished hole to which I have referred. The latter has been drilled through the edge of the bead at a point which corresponds with the end of the inscription on the first face. But the whole inscription did not really end here, a second inscription giving the name of the owner's father having been added on the other face. The workman, therefore, did not complete the hole, and made another at the point where the second inscription ends.

The inscriptions are composed of Hittite characters which we find extending with but slight variations, from Hamath and Carchemish in the east to the shores of the Ægean in the west. I believe that they were primarily invented in the district which adjoins the modern Mar'ash. It was here, at all events, in the eastern part of the ancient Komagênê that Hittite art begins, and it was here also that the Hittite tribes of the Taurus first came into contact with the civilisation of Assyria, Babylonia, and Egypt. However this may be, the extraordinary similarity, not only between the products of Hittite

art, but also between the forms of the Hittite characters and the arrangement of the symbols, throughout the whole of the Hittite region, indicates that most, if not all, of the Hittite monuments known to us in Asia Minor belong substantially to the same people and the same conquering race.

The only light hitherto shed on the decipherment of the Hittite texts comes from the bilingual inscription of king Tarkondêmos. This has given us the meaning of two ideographs—those for “king” and “country”—and the phonetic values of four signs. Besides this we know the meaning of the ideograph of “deity,” and also of one or two more.

The first face of the seal from Smyrna presents us with a number of characters arranged in the symmetrical fashion which we are accustomed to find on Hittite seals. At the foot of the inscription is the ideograph of “king,” twice repeated, and enclosing, as it were, the Royal name. On the inner edge of the ideograph is drawn a short line, which is attached to the last character in the inscription of Tarkondêmos, as well as to the last character of an inscription on a seal belonging to M. Schlumberger. As it further occurs in other Hittite inscriptions in places where a paragraph seems to come to an end, it would follow that it denotes pretty much the same as a full stop, and served to indicate the conclusion of a text or a paragraph.

The two ideographs of “king” are preceded by two signs, each of which is found to precede the names of the kings mentioned in the longer Hittite texts. One of them is a simple line, the representative of the numeral “one.” The other combines this line with a crescent, which a comparison of passages has shown to be a determinative affix of patronymics. At Mar’ash the simple line takes the place of the compound sign which elsewhere is the one generally used. Besides preceding proper names it also precedes what are evidently titles and nouns of agency. I therefore pointed out some years ago that it must be a determinative prefix indicating that the word following was either a proper name or a noun of agency. Mr. Chester’s new acquisition verifies this conclusion, and further proves that the simple and compound signs were

employed interchangeably. They here determine the word for "king."

The royal name to which the ideograph of "king" is attached consists of three characters, one of which is new. This is the one at the top, which looks like a cord tied into a bow with the ends spread out. The other two characters are a triangle which is found elsewhere, and a circle, which in an inscription from Carchemish (J. iii. 5) is preceded by the determinative of "deity," and must therefore denote the Sun-god. It is a pity that we do not know how the name of the Sun-god was pronounced in the Hittite language.

The vacant spaces in the inscription are filled up with two little angles which are frequently found fulfilling the same function on gems and seals of the "Hittite" class, as well as with a star. Two stars are also engraved on the other side of the seal, and similar stars are employed for the purpose of ornamentation on Hittite seals in the possession of M. Schlumberger. The inscription on both faces of the seal is surrounded with the representation of a twisted rope.

The inscription on the reverse contains the characters which a comparison of passages has long since shown denoted the patronymic, one of them being the phonetic representative of the patronymic suffix (*?kus*), the other, the determinative affix to which I have already alluded. They are twice repeated, like the ideograph of "king" on the first face, and the hole which runs through the seal starts from a point immediately below the place where they are inscribed for a second time.

The name of the father consists of three characters like that of the son, the first being again the triangle, and the second a character which has not been met with before. I have no idea as to what it represents; perhaps the foot of a horse, perhaps the head of some animal. The third character occurs on one of Mr. Schlumberger's seals, and is shown by a comparison of texts to be a "hieratic" and much deformed representation of a hand.

Such, then, is the signification of the inscriptions on the seal, so far as they can be made out at present. On one side is a royal name followed by the title of "king," on the other side the name of his father. Both names begin

with the same character, and the first name ends with that of the Sun-god. Until another bilingual text is discovered I doubt whether we shall succeed in getting much beyond these results.

By way of appendix I would mention a fine Phœnician seal of chalcedony, also obtained this winter by Mr. Greville Chester, and also presented by him to the Ashmolean Museum. A couchant lion, with its mouth open, is engraved on the lower part of it. Above the lion is an inscription in five Phœnician letters, the former of which belong to the 7th or 6th century B.C. Unfortunately fractures in the stone make the reading of the second and last letters a little doubtful, though the second letter can scarcely be anything else than P, and the last letter is either N or a mere symbol to denote the end of the inscription. The other letters are clear enough, and the whole legend would therefore run

לִפְרָ'ן L-P-R-'-N

“belonging to Phera'n.” The characters resemble those of the Siloam inscription.

BOSSSES OF THE WOODEN VAULTING OF THE EASTERN WALK OF THE CLOISTER OF LINCOLN MINSTER.

By the REV. PRECENTOR VENABLES, M.A.

The works in connection with the restoration of the Chapter House of Lincoln Minster, now all but completed, rendered it necessary to take down and rebuild the eastern walk of the cloisters. This work had been previously accomplished for the other two existing walks, the fourth, or north walk having long since fallen down and been rebuilt by Sir Christopher Wren. An opportunity was thus offered for a close examination of the bosses of the wooden groining. Photographs of the whole series were taken by Mr. Hadley, of Lincoln, reduced copies of which were published in the "Builder" July 19th of the current year.

These bosses which belong to quite the close of the thirteenth century are of exquisite design and execution, the pose of some of the figures and the flow of the drapery exhibiting a grace and refinement which it would be difficult to surpass. Exposure to the weather for several centuries has robbed the carvings of much of their original sharpness, and in some instances has caused decay and mutilation. But even in their damaged state they prove themselves to be the works of no ordinary artist, whose eye for beauty of form was combined with vigour of conception and ready skill of hand, and a true feeling for nature. The designs, especially those representing the months are charmingly spirited and natural, characterized by that "uncalculating bestowal of the wealth of labour" which Mr. Ruskin speaks of as one of the special features of mediæval carving. They are not dead prosaic fashionings of the mallet and the chisel.

They live and move. What must the instinctive feeling for art in the ordinary English workman have been, when such exquisite carvings came naturally from his hands, not to be placed near the eye and gazed at and admired, but to be fixed high above the head, as mere architectural decorations, adding to the general effect, but not challenging the individual notice which we now feel they so richly deserve.

The bosses in question are nineteen in number, alternately larger and smaller, fixed at the point of junction of the ribs of the slight wooden groining. The eastern walk to which they belong consists of nine narrow bays, with one wider bay at the southern extremity, corresponding to the width of the southern walk. A tenth narrow bay, and the wider extreme bay have been swallowed up in Wren's Roman Doric cloister, which supports Dean Honeywood's library. The subjects are as follows—

(1). Much mutilated ; one of the series of the months, perhaps October, the tree-felling month, or March the pruning month. It represents a man, now headless, in a long flowing frock girt round his waist, grasping in his two hands the handle of an axe or some sharp cutting instrument, now lost, which he is about to bring down on the trunk of a tree standing at his right hand. The action in spite of the mutilation of the boss is clearly discernible, and looks too vigorous for pruning.

(2). (small) A short fat man with long curls dependent over his ears, and a short beard, seated with his hands on his knees, as though in front of a fire, his countenance indicating a sense of complete satisfaction. Possibly intended to represent "cold February," for which a man warming himself before a chimney-place was the recognised symbol.

(3). The month of November is typified by a man sowing corn. He wears a long loose frock, girt about the waist ; on his head is a flat cap, and a muffler protects his cheeks and chin. On his left side he carries a broad, shallow basket of seed corn, suspended by a strap passing over his right shoulder. He scatters the seed broadcast with his right hand ; a sack of corn is behind him to his right. This figure is very spirited ; the action vigorous ; the face shews much character.

(4). (small) Two winged dragonlike animals fighting ; each seeking to devour the other.

(5). The month of December typified by pig-killing, recalling old Tusser's lines :—

When mast is gone
Hog falleth anon.

The killer is an old man with a long beard, his head covered with a close fitting coif, He wears a loose frock, with a girdle round the waist. His right arm is raised in act of striking a huge swine, who is contentedly munching acorns. The axe is gone. The back of the boss represents oak leaves and acorns beautifully carved, but out of proportion with the rest of the design.

(6). (small) A male lamb scratching its nose with its right hind foot.

(7). The month of January, the month of good cheer; a prolongation of the Christmas festivity. The subject is in agreement with Chaucer's lines

“ Janus sits by the fyre with double berd
And drinketh of his bugle horn the wyn.”

Franklein's Tale, 516.

A man clad in a long loose tunic, ungirt, that he may drink more at his ease, his head covered with a broad flat slouching cap, with a hood reaching over his head and protecting his chin, is sitting cross legged, holding a drinking horn in his left hand and a bowl in his right, resting his elbow on a pitcher. Behind him is a cask of ale with a spigot, to replenish his bowl. The man's thorough enjoyment of his surroundings is very marked.

(8). (small) A very singular group probably intended to portray Ezekiel's four living creatures. It consists of four small squat draped figures, the upper part human, the bodies almost non-existent, the extremities those respectively of the ox, the lion, the eagle, and the man. The heads of three are hooded, the fourth wears a peaked cap ; all are gazing upwards.

(9). Two dragon like creatures in fierce conflict, each biting the other's neck.

(10). (small) another subject from Ezekiel's vision, a figure, broad for its height, combining the ox and the lion below, and the human form above. It has a female

head in a thirteenth century square headdress, the cheeks and chin wrapped in a wimple, and long flowing drapery falling over each ear. The bust is fully vested, the drapery flowing over the breasts. The being has no body, but two sets of extremities ; to its right the hooved feet of an ox, and a tail ending in a leaf ; and on its left the paws and tail of a lion.

(11). Our Lord in act of Benediction. He is seated on a cushioned throne, the uprights ending in finials. He is fully vested, the pallium fastened with a diamond shaped morse, His feet are bare, His hair is long and curling ; the beard short. The right hand is raised in blessing ; in the left hand He carries the world, represented as a flat disk.

(12). (The central boss over the Chapter House door.) A very solemn looking, long-eared rabbit, in a crouching attitude ; his head and shoulders are invested with a close fitting covering, puckered at the neck, with holes for the ears and eyes, the very ideal of "Brer Rabbit" of Uncle Remus' Tales.

(13). The Virgin and Child, throned ; an exquisitely graceful composition. The Virgin veiled and crowned is seated and carries the Holy Child on her left knee. Her flowing veil passes under her chin from left to right ; her right hand, and the head of our Lord have been destroyed. He holds a dove in His left hand, and raises His right hand in blessing ; a dove of a larger size is perched on the back of the throne to the left.

(14). (small, much mutilated, both the head and hands gone), a seated angel exquisitely draped, holding a crown in the left hand.

(15). The enthronement of the Blessed Virgin. Our Lord is seated, with long flowing hair and bearded, in a long tunic, girt round the waist, and reaching to the feet which are bare ; His right hand raised in blessing, His left holding the world as before in the form of a disk. On the right hand sits the Virgin, half turning toward her Divine Son, the head unhappily gone. The treatment of this subject is surpassingly beautiful ; the drapery shews much grace.

(16). (small, much mutilated) a grotesque. A tumbler performing his feats, holds his right foot with his right

hand, on a level with his shoulders, his left hand is on his knee.

(17). A large boss of vine leaves and grapes, exquisitely true to nature.

(18). A calf lying down, scratching its chin with its right hind foot.

(19). A mitred bishop—perhaps Oliver Sutton, the chief promoter of the cloisters,—seated on a cushioned throne, his right hand raised in blessing, bearing a mutilated crozier in his left hand.

It will have been noticed that only four of the months, or possibly five, are represented in the bosses of the East walk, which now come under our observation. The others may have perished on the fall of the North walk, or they may be still awaiting identification among the bosses of the other two walks, which have never yet received a thorough examination. There can however be but little doubt that the series was once complete, and embraced all the twelve months of the Kalendar. It is well known that representations of the months by their characteristic occupations are of very frequent occurrence in illuminated manuscripts and in early printed books.

The earliest known English example in carving is the Norman font at Burnham Deepdale, near Hunstanton in Norfolk, described and figured a century ago, (1790.) in the *Archæologia*, vol. x., p. 177 ff. A very similar series, accompanied by the signs of the Zodiac, occurs upon a leaden font at Brookland, Kent, between Rye and Romney, described and figured in the *Archæological Journal*, vol. vi, p. 159, and in the *Archæologia Cantiana*, vol. iv, p. 87 ff. The occupations of the months together with the signs of the Zodiac are also carved on the porch doorway of St. Margaret's Church, York, figured in Drake's *Eboracum*, p. 308, as well as by Cave and Carter, but most correctly by the late Mr. Browne, of York, in 1827.

The most complete series existing in stone, however, is that on the fourteenth century capitals of the twelve pillars of the choir of Carlisle Cathedral. Each bears, without a single break, a representation of the characteristic occupation of a separate month. The whole series has been most carefully described by Mr. James

Fowler, F.S.A., in a paper in the Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmoreland Antiquarian Society for 1875-6, (vol. ii., part 2, pp. 281-296). To the same gentleman we are also indebted for an elaborate and exhaustive treatise on the "Mediæval Representations of the Months and Seasons," published in the *Archæologia*, vol. xliv., pp. 137-224.

Returning to Lincoln Cathedral, it may be mentioned that three of the months, March, April and July, are represented in stained glass in the quatrefoils of the east windows of the choir aisles. There can be no doubt that the series was once complete. They date from the close of the fourteenth or the beginning of the fifteenth century. March (Marche) is represented as a man in a short jerkin, girt at the waist, and closely fitting hose, and a slouch hat, engaged in pruning. He holds a pruning hook in his left hand. In his right he bends down a twig he is about to cut off. Three small fagots of the cuttings lie on the ground. Behind him is a square castle surmounted by two towers, one round, the other square. April (Auerill) has a young man handsomely dressed, in tightly fitting hose and shoes, and a tight short coat purflled round the hips, with long loose hanging sleeves, through holes in which his arms come out. On his left fist is perched a hawk; in his right hand he holds a bunch of roses in full bloom. A small flat cap is on his head, beneath which his hair sticks out in bunches on either side. He is smoothly shaven, behind him to his left is a square castle on a mound, surmounted by a square turret with pyramidal roof. July (Iulii) the hay month of the Anglo Saxons, appropriately represents hay harvest.

"Julius ergo secat gramen, fenumque reservat."

To the left a man in a close fitting vest, the right sleeve folded back above the elbow, and his hose turned up above the knees, is mowing with a scythe held by its two handles. He wears on his head a low crowned broad brimmed hat, probably of straw. To the right a lad in a closely fitting tunic, girt round the waist, is turning the grass with a fork. In the back ground are three conical hay cocks.

Two of the misereres of the upper range of stalls

(erected by Treasurer John of Welton, c. 1380), on the north side are carved with subjects belonging to this series. The miserere of the stall of Biggleswade has two men ploughing in the centre, with representations of harrowing to the left and sowing to the right. That of the stall of the Archdeacon of Huntingdon has the customary autumnal scene; a man beating down acorns in the centre, with swine feeding on either side.

The misereres of the choir of Worcester Cathedral supply a complete series of subjects which indicate if they do not actually represent the months of the year. The history of these carvings is curious. Believed to have been executed in 1379, they were removed from their places in 1551 by King Edward's commissioners, restored and reset by Queen Mary's authority in 1556, and removed again at the beginning of the present century by Mr. St. John, the Treasurer to the Dean and Chapter, to be fixed upon the cornice of a "compo" organ screen then erected between the nave and choir. This wretched production was cleared away in 1865, and the misereres were refixed in the choir stalls. Unhappily the old arrangements had been entirely lost and they were placed in no definite order. The following is the arrangement given by Mr. Fowler (*Mediaeval representations of Months and Seasons* p. 27), though he allows that in some cases the identification is not beyond question. The numbers, given, refer to the photographic representations of these carvings published by Mr. Bemrose of Derby.

JANUARY (?). A woman with a distaff, and a man digging with a spade.

"When Adam delved and Eve span
Who was then the gentleman?"

"In England" writes Mr. Fowler, the day after Twelfth Day, or the very end of the Yule Tide feastings, was called *St. Distaff's Day*, and was a special holiday for spinsters.

If the maids a spinning goe
Burne the flax and fire the tow.

* * *

Give St. Distaff all the right
Then give Christmas-sport good night.

FEBRUARY (1). An old man in a flat cap and wrapper over his ears and chin, his jacket closely buttoned up, seated on a semi-circular three-legged arm chair before a fire, at which he is warming his feet having taken off his boots, and is stirring a pot hanging over it. An embattled octagonal chimney appears above. The supporters represent, to the left a dog or cat warming itself, and to the right two fitches of bacon hung up to dry.

MARCH (11). A man sowing seed. He wears the same flat cap and jerkin which appears in all the subjects. His shoes are oddly pointed for the great toe only. He stands between two tall cylindrical baskets, and has a seed bag on his left side strapped over his right shoulder; with his right hand he casts the seed. The supporters are two birds flying down to pick up the seed.

APRIL (?) (5). A bearded knight in complete armour, his sword in its sheath depending between his legs. He wears the same flat cap with a wrapper drawn over his ears and chin, and is enveloped in a loose cloak held together by a band above the waist. In each hand he carries a branch covered with roses.

MAY (30). A king or crowned personage with a cloak over his shoulders; his short coat is ungirt, he carries his gloves in his left hand, on his right fist there has been a hawk, of which the claws only are left; to his right a richly caparisoned horse is led by a page.

JUNE (18). Three men in flat caps, their hair frizzed out into wings on each side, are mowing with scythes; they stand upright, not bending to their work. The supporters are very curious, to the right a fox in a cloak kneels in prayer over a sheep's head, to the left a rabbit is going hunting, mounted on a greyhound.

JULY (17). Three men with the same flat caps and frizzed hair stand weeding in the midst of standing corn. Their weeding tools are much mutilated. There are the remains of the prongs of a crotch near the left foot of two, and of the curved blade of a weed hook near the right foot of all three.

AUGUST (16). Three men, bare headed, are reaping corn with small curved sickles, and binding it into sheaves. The attitude and expression of the faces are extremely

animated. As supporters there are three sheaves on either side.

SEPTEMBER (?). A huntsman sounds his horn which winds round his body.

OCTOBER (27). A man, his head covered by a hood, and his shoulders by a cape which comes down over his buttoned jerkin, beats down acorns with a staff held in his two hands, which two swine are munching below.

NOVEMBER (?). A sow suckling two young pigs, in preparation for the Christmas feast. Pork was the favourite winter food of the middle ages.

DECEMBER (6). A butcher killing an ox, lying down before him, with an axe, the blunt part of which he is bringing down on the animal's head, the sharp blade being turned upwards. He wears an apron and sharp pointed shoes, and the usual flat cap ; his sleeves are turned up.

At Malvern Abbey Church, interspersed among a number of carvings of other subjects, there are seven misereres very similar to those at Worcester, which may be identified with the months. For March (or November) there is a man sowing seed ; for April a man holding in each hand a bunch of roses ; for June a man mowing with a scythe ; for July a man weeding out thistles from standing corn ; for September a man carrying a basket of fruit ; for October a man beating down acorns which a boar on one side and on the other side a sow are eating ; and finally, for December a man killing an ox. Several similar examples occur in the misereres at Gloucester Cathedral, and on the lower frieze of the wooden watching loft on the north side of the feretory of St. Alban's. For fuller particulars I would refer to Mr. Fowler's admirable paper in the *Archæologia*, already mentioned. I believe that he could now add many more examples to his list.¹

¹ Canon Creighton informs me that he has met with a set of carved misereres of great excellence in the church of Ripple

near Tewkesbury. They are fourteen in number, representing the Sun and Moon and, probably, the twelve months.

ROMAN INSCRIPTIONS IN BRITAIN 1888—1890.

By F. HAVERFIELD, M.A.

At the suggestion of many friends and by request of the Editor, I have undertaken to continue for this Journal the series of articles in which, year by year, the late Mr. W. T. Watkin collected new discoveries of Roman inscriptions made in Britain. It would be out of place here to discuss either the merits or the faults of Mr. Watkin's work, but I may say that his yearly collections were much prized by competent judges both in England and abroad, and I think that the discontinuance of his scheme would be generally regretted. For the delay in the appearance of the present article I am solely responsible. My time has been occupied in preparing a much longer contribution to the *Ephemeris Epigraphica*, forming a supplement to the *Corpus* and including all inscriptions found since 1879. In the execution of this I have been led to visit many museums and examine many inscriptions. I venture to think that some good results of this labour will be found in the following pages.

In the present article I have included, as I believe, all inscriptions which have been found or made public since the date of Mr. Watkin's last contribution (vol. xlv, p. 167), to which I have added a few corrections of previous readings. I omit only (1) a few unimportant fragments already edited in the *Ephemeris*, and (2) most of the inscriptions on pottery. The latter were regularly omitted by Mr. Watkin and very rightly. Of themselves they do not prove the presence of Romans or Romanized natives where they are found, and their real value lies in the light which, when collected together, they throw upon the extent and character of the ancient earthenware trade. I am, however, slowly collecting potters' marks, and hope

that, when I have a sufficient number, I shall be able to publish them in connected lists.

In arrangement of matter, I have to some extent followed the *Corpus*. I give first an account of the *provenance*, size and characters of the object, then the text, thirdly a statement of the source whence my reading comes, and lastly any notes which seem suitable. Where the inscription has been edited, rightly or wrongly, in the *Corpus* or *Ephemeris*, I give the reference at the head of the notice. The inscriptions are arranged in the same order as that of the *Corpus*, which is not unlike that used by Camden in his *Britannia*; they begin with Cornwall and work northwards. To facilitate reference, I have prefixed to each district-heading the number of the section in the *Corpus*. I hope that I may thereby promote the use of this work by English archaeologists. I am convinced that no real student of Roman epigraphy can dispense with it and the *Ephemeris*. In one point only have I not followed the Berlin editors. They place the milestones and all portable objects, rings, lamps, &c., at the end of the whole collection, grouping the portable objects by character, not by locality. This is right enough in a large work; in a short yearly article it seems unsuitable.

Abbreviations *C* = *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*: where no Roman numerals follow the British volume, vii, edited by Prof. Hübner (Berlin 1873) is meant.

Eph. = *Ephemeris Epigraphica*, supplements to the above. The supplements to *C.* vol. vii, are in *Eph.* iii and iv (by Prof. Hübner), and in vii (by myself).

Arch. Ael. = *Archæologia Aeliana* the Journal of the Newcastle Society of Antiquaries.

Arch. Journ. = Journal of the Archæological Institute.

Assoc. Journ. = " " Association.

In expansions of the inscriptions, round brackets denote the expansion of an abbreviation, square brackets the supplying of letters, which, owing to breakage or other cause, are not now on the stone, but which may be presumed to have been there.

I. CORNWALL, DEVON.

1. [C. n. 1; Eph. vii, n. 812.] The pewter cup found in 1756, at Bossens, West Cornwall, was given by William Borlase to the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford, where it

now is. The proper reading of the inscription, scratched on the bottom of the inside, is



Aelius Modestus Deo Marti

This was pointed out to me by my friend Mr. A. J. Evans, Keeper of the Museum, with whose assistance I copied it and to whom I am indebted for the drawing reproduced above. There is no word and very little space between *Modestus* and *Deo*, and Borlase's *Doiuli f(ilius)* is impossible. What the R in the centre means I do not know.

Cups similarly dedicated are by no means unknown, though they are usually of silver. One, inscribed *Deo Marti m(erito) l(aetus) l(ibens)*, was found in 1633 at Wettingen, in Switzerland, along with a pot of coins, dating from Hadrian to Constantine Junior (A.D. 120-340), and other inscribed silver vessels. It has been published by Mommsen in his *Inscriptiones Helveticae* (Zürich 1854), and by Dr. F. Keller in his *Statistik der römischen Einsiedlungen in der Ostschweiz*. Other such dedications, again, are found on pottery: for instance, a small jug scratched with the words DEO MARTI was found with a Worms inscription quoted below (p. 253). The age of the Wettingen bowl is fixed by the coins to the fourth century, and Mr. Evans judges, from the character of the lettering, that the Bossen's cup is of third or early fourth century date.

2. [C. n. 1279; Eph. vii, 1156.] Borlase (p. 316) includes among the Roman objects found with the inscribed cup at Bossens, a stone weight, on which he read the number x. The weight is now in the Ashmolean Museum, and I think it is pretty plain that the x is only ornament.

3. On the rim of a *pelvis* or *mortarium*, found with (so-called) Samian ware and coins of Trajan and Vespasian, at Tregeare, near Bodmin :—

LESBIVSF

Lesbius fecit

I am indebted to the Rev. W. Jago, for an excellent drawing of this. He has edited it, with a plate, in the *Journal of the Royal Institute of Cornwall* (1890.) The *mortaria*, called by Professor Hübner *catini*, are now generally described as *pelves*, and by this name I propose to call them in the future.

4. [Eph vii, 1095]. Oblong stone, now forming the lichen-stone at the S.E. entrance of Tintagel churchyard, 59in. long, 12in. broad, 7in. high, much worn, inscribed at the top ;—

Reading of Mr. Jago.

Λ M P C C

V A L

L I C I N

My own reading.

Λ M P C C

V A

L I C I N

Mr. Jago was kind enough to send me his reading and some rubbings. I have since examined the stone myself.

His own interpretation is *Imp(erator) C(aesar) G(alerius) Val(erius) Lic(inianus) Licin(ius)*, that is, it is a milestone of the Emperor Licinius, colleague of Constantine the Great (A.D. 307-323). The chief objection to this is that Licinius, though credited by Dr. Smith in the *Dictionary of Biography* with the name Galerius, does not seem really to have borne it. The only evidence in literature, inscriptions, or coins, that I can discover for it is one coin type (Cohen (ed 2), vi, p. 194, n. 52), which is undoubtedly restamped from the coin of another Emperor who really was called Galerius. Prof. Mommsen suggested that possibly Galerius Valerius Maximianus (A.D. 292-311), and Licinius were mixed up by the stonecutter. Such confusion would not be impossible in such troubled times.

There are no letters visible beyond the third line ; one would expect the name of Constantine,¹ or at least the

¹ Constantine and Licinius were not friends, but their names do appear together on coins and inscriptions (Cohen

vii, p. 211). Licinius' name both on coins and inscriptions, and in literature is sometimes spelt with a double 'n,' Licinnius.

regular title AUG(*ustus*). To me, when I saw the stone, the third line seemed very uncertain, and I should prefer to leave the Emperor's name uncertain, while admitting that the stone may be a milestone. The lettering points to the fourth century, which is also the date of the St. Hilary milestone (C. n. 1147).

If the stone be a milestone, it will confirm the theory advanced by Borlase (*Cornwall*, p. 306), and Sir J. Maclean (*Trigg Minor* i, 484, and iii, 8), that a Roman road ran through N.W. Cornwall. The traces of such a road are not very substantial. The name of Stratton, though often quoted, proves little, but we have a 'Plain street' near St. Endellion, and pottery, glass, bronze ornaments, &c., near Padstow (*Arch. Journ.*, xvii, 311). At Tintagel itself no Roman remains seem to have been found; the masonry of the Castle is most certainly not Roman. The stone itself seems to be of local origin; at least, I understand from a high authority, Mr. F. W. Rudler, that there is no reason why it should not be so.

VI. KENT.

5. [Eph. vii, 1149.] Two lead seals found in a rubbish pit outside the Camp at Richborough. They closely resemble coins and bear on one side (the other is blank) the head of Constantine the Great with the inscription:—

CONSTANTINVS P AVG

P(ius) Aug(ustus)

Published with a plate by Mr. Roach Smith, *Coll. Ant.* vi, 120. Mr. Rolfe, who found them, gave them to Mr. Mayer; they are not now however in the Mayer Museum at Liverpool. Fragments of string were visible on the back, so that they seem to have been used either for letters or as custom house seals.

Dr. Hettner lately shewed me two similar lead seals found at Trier, and now in the museum there. They are inscribed CONSTANTINVS P AVG and CRISPVS . . . (the last letters are illegible) round the corresponding heads. Marks of string are visible on the first across the front, on the second across the back. I also noticed two such seals in the Museum at Speyer, found at Rheinzabern, one illegible, the other inscribed CRISPVS NOB C.

6. *Pelvis*, found at Reculver, now in the possession of the Rev. E. Field, Petrockstow (N. Devon).

LVGV DV

Lugudu(ni) [*factus*]

Copied by myself.

Similarly inscribed *pelves* have been found in London (C. n. 1334, Roach Smith, *Roman London*, p. 89), Ewell and Maidstone (*Coll. Ant.* i, 149), Kinderton (Watkin *Cheshire* p. 248), and at East Bridgford (Notts), the last given as GVDV, but obviously broken. *Lugudunum* is the correct form of the Roman name of Lyons, not *Lugdunum*.

Such *pelves* were imported from France. One dredged up forty miles east of the North Foreland and inscribed C ATISIVS GRATVS (*Proc. Soc. Ant.* xiii (1890), 107), where it is printed GATISIVS by obvious error) may be a relic of such traffic, for the stamp has been often found in France (c. xii, 5685). For local potters, see No. 48.

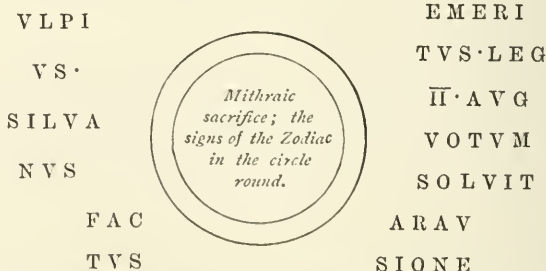
7. [Eph. vii, 1160]. Silver spoon found in Kent, on the bowl:—

VIBIA VIVAS

Communicated by Mr. A. J. Evans. Compare a similar spoon found near Winslow and now in Aylesbury Museum, inscribed VENERIA VIVAS (Eph. iv, p. 211).

VIII. LONDON.

8. [Eph. vii, 816]. A piece of marble sculpture, 18in. high by 22in. wide, found in 1889, in Walbrook, near Bond Court, about 20ft. below the surface, along with two marble sculptures of a River God and a Genius, fragments of Samian ware and bronze pins, now in the private Museum of W. Ransom, Esq. F.S.A., Fairfield, Hitchin.



Ulpus Silvanus cncritus leg(ionis) II Aug(ustae) votum solvit. factus Arausione.

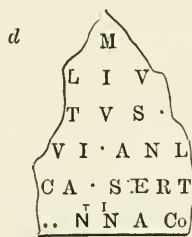
By the kindness of Mr Ransom, I was able to carefully examine this inscription. The whole find is a very remarkable one, of which I hope Mr. Ransom will himself publish a full description. The workmanship of the sculptures is excellent, far surpassing ordinary British work, and, but for the occurrence of smaller objects in the find, one would fancy that these pieces, like some of the Arundel marbles, had been brought in modern times to London, lost, and then rediscovered.

Emeritus legionis is a phrase used sometimes (*e.g.* on a Bath inscription, C. n. 51), to denote a veteran "honorably" discharged from the legion with a bounty. Ulpius Silvanus the veteran who erected this marble, was discharged while the Emperor was at Arausio (*Orange*), in the S. of Gaul. A similar inscription in Henzen's collection (n. 7170), of the date 14 A.D., records the discharge of a veteran by the Emperor while staying at Alexandria. This explanation of the words *factus Arausione* I owe to Prof. Mommsen.

From the style of lettering and the use of the *nomen* Ulpius, I should suppose that this inscription was erected in, or soon after the reign of Trajan (A.D. 97-117), whose own name was Ulpius.

The Mithraic sacrifice represented is a good specimen of the ordinary type.

9. [Eph. vii, 822]. The subjoined inscription was edited by Mr. Watkin, in this *Journal* (xxxviii, 289). The following is a more correct reading:—



Dis] M(anibus).....liu[s],.....tus, vi(xit) an(nos) L.....ntina co[n]iux posuit]

Copied by myself.

The gravestone of a man whose name is lost, erected by his wife.

10. [Eph. vii, 1141.] Professor Zangemeister, to whom I sent some squeezes, has favoured me with the following letter on an inscribed tile found in 1886 in Warwick lane and published by Mr. Watkin in this *Journal* (xliv, 126). His letter may be translated as follows.

The tile reads :—

Austalis dibus xiii vagatur sib[i] cotidim

“Austalis wanders about to please himself for thirteen days, day by day.”

The forms of the words are of unusual interest.

(1) *Austalis* = *Augustalis*; compare *Aosta* in N. Italy, originally *Augusta Praetoria*, and the French *août* = *augustus* (mensis). So on a Spanish inscription (C. ii, (2705) *invicto deo Austo*; on an African one of A.D. 452, *Kalendas Austas* “the Kalends of August;” in the *Ravenna Geographer* (Ed. Parthey, p. 151, 16), *vicus Austi* for *Augusti*, and in one manuscript (codex B saec. ix) of the *Antonine Itinerary* (p. 353), *Austa Ramracum* (sic) for *Augusta Rauracum*.

(2) *dibus* = *diebus*.

(3) *cotidim* = *cotidie*. Neither of these seem to occur elsewhere. The latter is probably the accusative, used adverbially so that the man declined *dim dibus*, instead of *diem diebus*.

Similar playful inscriptions occur at Pompeii and elsewhere; for instance (1) *cave malum si non raseris lateres DC; si raseris minus, malum formidabis* (C. v.n. 8110, 176, *Bonner Jahrbücher* lxxvii, 75). (2) [*fac...*] *latercl[o]s... riane; [m]ale dor[mias, or-mies], si non feceris*, “make... bricks: if you don’t, may you sleep badly.”

(3) *cred[ere] v[er]o d[u]bito, set amicum amittere [noli]m: si tibi credidero, non te tam s(a)epe vid[e]b[o]*.

“Neither a borrower nor a lender be:

For loan oft loses both itself and friend.”

To this exposition, by the first living authority on Latin *graffiti*, nothing need be added. The curious *dibus* may perhaps be made more intelligible by the fact that in “vulgar Latin” as opposed to the literary language, the *i* was long: hence the Italian *di*, Roumanian *zi*, &c. (Sehmann *Aussprache des Latein*, p. 93; Wölfflin *Archiv*

ii, 101). With *Austalis* compare our English "Austin" for "Augustine." I should add that the reading of the second line, *dibus xiii*, is the result of my own inspection and seems to me absolutely certain.

11. [Eph. vii, 1155.] On the bottom of a glass bottle in the Guildhall Museum—

V F

Copied by myself.

12. Fragment of inscription, in three concentric lines, on the bottom of a glass vessel in the British Museum (Roach Smith's Coll. 631), hardly legible—

.... I L L {
 C I N {
 .. I N I I V I S }

Copied by myself.

I give this because glass thus inscribed is rare, and someone may be able to supply me with a complete example of the same inscription.

13. [Eph. vii, 1163.] Iron chisel (?) 7 in. long, found by Mr. J. E. Price, F.S.A. (with Nos. 14 foll.), in arranging the Guildhall Museum, London (Walker Bailey collection.)

A P R I L I S F

Aprilis f(ecit)

Copied by myself.

14. [Eph. vii, 1177, b.] Bronze stamp (Guildhall Museum).

S E C V N
D I N I

'of Secundinus'

Copied by myself.

15. [Eph. vii, 1177, c.] Steel stamp, the handle shewing marks of hammer blows; in the Guildhall Museum.

M P B R

Mr. Price sent me a cast. The letters probably represent the initials of a man's three names.

16. Lamps 1-6 in the Guildhall Museum, 7-8 in Mr. Ransom's collection. (Copied by myself.)

1.	ANNISEP	(The mould of) <i>Annius Sc[r]</i> . . .
2.	AVFFRON	. . . <i>Auf(ilius) Fron(to?)</i>
3.	LVC	<i>Luc(ius?)</i>
4.	MARTIVS F	<i>Martius f(ecit)</i>
5.	PHRO NIMVS	<i>Phronimus</i>
6.	L·CAEC·SAE	<i>L. Cac(cilius)Sae . . .</i>
7.	STROBILI	<i>Strobilus</i>
8.	FORTIS	<i>Fortis</i> [very indistinct]

The inscribed lamps of the whole western empire came probably from Italy. Moulds for making them were supplied by Italian makers, some of which moulds have been found in Austria. Inscribed lamps are comparatively uncommon in England. See n. 72 below.

17. Castor Ware—(1) in the British Museum, from Oldford, near Bow; (2) in the Guildhall Museum, from the City.

(1) VITADA·

(2) PIE

Copied by myself. PIE, the Greek *πιε* in a latin dress, occurs often on such vases, sometimes with ZESSES 'you shall live,' added. Similarly ZEITE 'live,' quoted by M. Vaillant (*Vases pastillés et épigraphiés*, Arras 1887), from an urn found in Picardy, and AEMILIA ZESSES on a ring found at Corbridge (C. n. 1300).

Mr. Price has also shewn or sent me some marks on keys e.g. LXXXI, but these, I imagine, are mere ornament.

18. [Eph. iv, n. 698, vii, 1189 a.] In 1871 the British Museum received among a number of objects, a brick inscribed D·N·VOC· Mr. Watkin interpreted this *decurio numeri Vocontiorum* and the interpretation was accepted or discussed abroad. It now appears that the tile is spurious. There are two forged tiles, perhaps of the same class, in the Guildhall Museum, inscribed VNDINIO and PVICNV. The former is perhaps a bad shot at Londinium.

IX. BATH.

19. [Eph. vii, 830.] Bottom corner of an altar found in the baths in 1880, and now there.

Copied by myself; doubtless the formual *v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*, regular at the end of dedications.

X. CIRENCESTER.

20. [Eph. vii, 839.] Stone 29in. square, found in 1887, at Siddington, on a Roman road near Cirencester, and now in the possession of J. Bowly, Esq., of Siddington Hall. Very uncertain, except the first line.

	GEN	IO
	.	.
	.	.
	ED I	
..TIVSTH		VS
5. V.S.L		

Mr. A. J. Evans and myself failed to make out more than the above. The stone is a dedication (*v.s.l.[m]*) to some genius.

21. [Eph. iii, 838 c.] Fragment in Cirencester Museum, copied by myself.

A

XI. MIDLAND COUNTIES.

22. [Eph. vii, 842.] Two fragments, 18 in. long, 15 in. high, with large letters, found in 1888 in the restoration of Peterborough Cathedral. There are still traces of colour in the letters.

LO	EC
NO	

Mr. J. T. Irvine sent me a squeeze and drawings. A notice was published in the *Antiquary* xix (1889), 76.

This is part of a large inscription, which perhaps commemorated a building. Possibly the seven extant letters formed part of the date, expressed by the names of the

consuls, which is often added to such inscriptions. The only known consuls whose names suit are those of 184 A.D. : we might supply the missing parts thus:—

...*L. Eggio Marul]lo et C[n. Papirio Aelia]no* [cos...

In some previous attempts to explain the inscription, the tied **Ʒ** was taken to be necessarily **TE**. The symbol stands for **TE** or **ET**. I have assumed that the last letter of line 1 is **c** : it might conceivably be a broken **o**, but I do not think it is.

Probably these fragments and an ornamented half column found near them came from either Castor (*Durobrivae*) or Chesterton. The two places are so near together that inscribed objects found at one have often been put down to the other, and in some cases it is impossible to decide between conflicting accounts.

23. Fragment of sandstone, 8 in. long, 5 in. wide, found at Sandy (Bedfordshire), about thirty miles south of Peterborough, in 1888, now in Mr. Ransom's collection at Hitchin : rough letters.

{ V D I }

Copied by myself; the object itself and its provenance seemed to suggest that it was Roman, possibly a walling-stone, certainly not a regular inscription.

A fair number of smaller Roman remains have turned up at Sandy, especially coins dating mostly from Valens to Arcadius (A.D. 364-400). See *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1764, 60; 1787, ii, 952 (recording find of a coin of Pius, A.D. 145), *Academy*, May 24, 1890, p. 359. British coins have also been found there.

XII. COLCHESTER.

24. [Eph. vii, 845.] Fragment of Purbeck marble, 16 [not 8] in. by 5, found in 1889 in Balkerne lane.

D	m	
AR		
RE		
VAL		... cohortis
5 TVAL		ngionum
QVI		militavit annos...
I		

Mr. H. Laver, F.S.A., sent it to me to inspect: I have published it in the *Archæologia Aeliana*, xiii, 289.

The tombstone—*dis Manibus*—of one or more soldiers, probably veterans of the *cohors I Vangionum*, a regiment deriving its name from a German tribe near Worms,¹ and stationed at *Habitancium* (Risingham). It resembles C. n. 91, 92, and like them may date from the second century.

The material, Purbeck marble, was a good deal employed by the Romans. C. n. 91, 92 are made of it, and so is the celebrated Chichester inscription of Cogidubnus. I cannot make out that there are any traces of Roman quarries in the Isle of Purbeck, but Roman remains are not uncommon there, *e.g.*, at Langton, Worbarrow, Creech (Warne, *Ancient Dorset*, pp. 281, 327) and two years ago a villa was found near Corfe Castle. Kimmeridge “coal” was used for bracelets and vases, and General Pitt Rivers’ museum at Farnham contains a Roman slate of Kimmeridge shale, found at Rushmore.

24a. Bronze stamp in Colchester Museum.

P · G · V

Copied by myself. Probably the initials of the owner.

25. [Eph. vii, 1147.] Flat round disks (*tesserae*) of clay inscribed on one side, about 2 in. in diameter, in Mr. G. Joslin’s Museum.

(1) VAK (2) B (3) X (4) I

Copied by myself. I cannot give any certain account of how these were used. They are quite different from the—as I believe—forged “theatre tickets” in the Colchester Museum.

26. Lamps (Colchester Museum)—

1. A T I M E T I	<i>of Atimetus.</i>
2. E V C A R P I	<i>of Eucarpus.</i>
3. . . E S T I	<i>of [F]estus.</i>

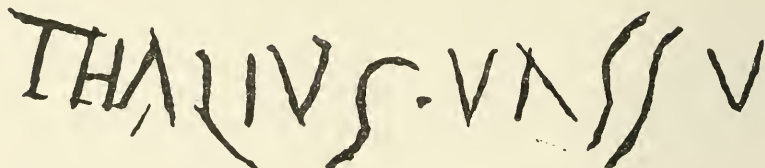
Copied by myself. No. 2 (found 1888 in an urn) was shewn me by Mr. F. Spalding, Curator of the Museum, to whom it belongs. All the names are well-known.

27. Urn of Upchurch ware 15 in. high, found with

¹ This does not by any means denote that the soldiers of this cohort were Germans. Probably the cohort was originally raised in Germany, but such troops

were afterwards recruited from anywhere. Thus we find Helvetians and Batavians in a *cohors Hispanorum* (C. iii, 3681, Brambach, 890).

bones inside in 1889. On the outside has been scratched, after baking :—



Thalius

vassv (?)

Mr. H. Laver, F.S.A., sent me a rubbing, from which the cut was prepared. I printed a note of the find in the *Archæological Review*, iii, 274.

The name *Thalius*, though uncommon, appears indubitable. Professor Zangemeister suggests—very doubtfully—for the second word *vass[a]v* = *vasa quinque*. The letters, he tells me, may date from any part of the first three centuries. I lately copied in the Museum at Stuttgart, a possible parallel, a fragment of a large jar found in Württemberg, with the letters scratched on it *VAFFEN*. The fragment was broken immediately before and after the letters.

28. Castor ware, found 1889, now in Mr. Joslin's collection, black with bronze glaze, 4½ in. high, ornamented with white slip—

PIE "drink."

Mr. Laver sent me a tracing. See No. 7.

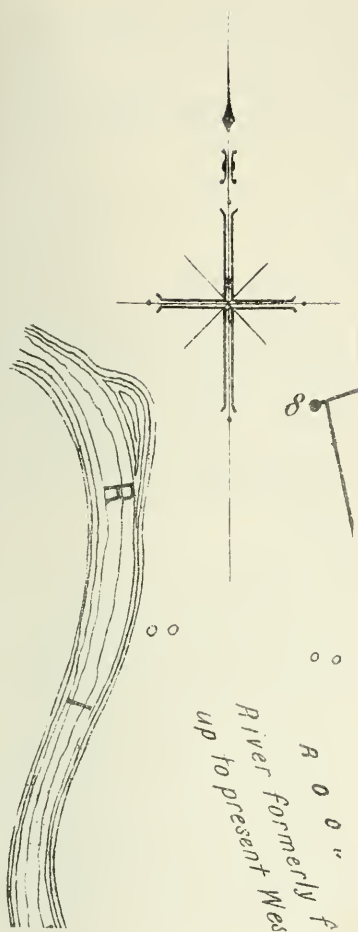
29. Scratched with a sharp point on a cinerary urn, found in building the Hospital (near C. n. 91), and now, as Mr. Laver tells me, in Mr. Joslin's collection.

FVISTI "thou hast lived."

E. L. Cutts, *Colchester* (in the "Historic Towns" Series) p. 45, who says that none of the coins found in this cemetery are later than Hadrian. He says the lamps also are not later than Hadrian, but I do not know how this can possibly be proved. Or is "lamps" a misprint for "coins?" I may add here that Mr. Cutts' book contains two useful maps of Roman Colchester.

XIII. CAERLEON.

30. [Eph. vii, 848.] Thanks to the kindness of Mr. T. H. Thomas, who sent me a squeeze and drawings, I can (as I believe) give a correct reading of the curious stone washed out at Goldcliff, near Caerleon, in 1878, and now



¹ The accompanying map of Chester, also due to Mr. Shrubsole's kindness, will, I hope, serve as an *Orientirungskarte*. In

using it, I do not wish to express here any opinion as to the areas of the Roman camp at Chester.

SKETCH PLAN OF ROMAN & MODERN WALLS.

CHESTER,

To illustrate Mr. Shrubsole's
Paper on the City Walls.

Scale 6 Inches to the Mile



in Caerleon Museum (C. Roach Smith, *Assoc. Journ.*, xl, 186; W. T. Watkin, *Arch. Journ.*, xxxvii, 137). The stone is 36 in. high, 14 in. broad, the inscription being 6 in. high, and at the top: it is much worn.

C O H T
OSTATORI
MAX . MI
II

coh(ors)i, c(enturia) Statori Max[i]mi. The stone may be centurial, but the shape is unusual, and we do not know how much is lost. In any case, it is of late date, and mentions a cohort. It is quite impossible that the third line can as was suggested by the Rev. C. W. King, have reference to Roman miles.

XVII. CHESTER.

A.—The North Wall.

When Mr. Watkin compiled his last yearly supplement for this *Journal*, he was able to publish only half of the inscriptions found recently in the north wall of Chester. Since that time, the whole series has been made accessible to the public in the Grosvenor Museum, and a complete account of the excavations and of the questions arising therefrom has been edited by Mr. J. P. Earwaker, F.S.A., under the title: *Recent discoveries of Roman remains found in repairing the North Wall of Chester* (Manchester: Ireland). The contents of this book (up to p. 131) have been re-issued in the second volume of the *Journal of the Chester Archaeological and Historic Society*, the paging of both works being identical. In these books Mr. W. T. Watkin discussed the inscriptions which he edited in this *Journal* (pp. 11-24), and Mr. W. de G. Birch treated the rest (pp. 98-131), with the texts of which alone I am here concerned. I have elsewhere said my say about Mr. Birch's article (*Academy*, No. 894, June, 1889), and I need now only add that many of his readings and interpretations are most incorrect. The texts which follow are the result of my own inspection, aided by some excellent squeezes which Mr. G. W. Shrubsole sent me.¹

¹ The accompanying map of Chester, also due to Mr. Shrubsole's kindness, will, I hope, serve as an *Orientirungskarte*. In

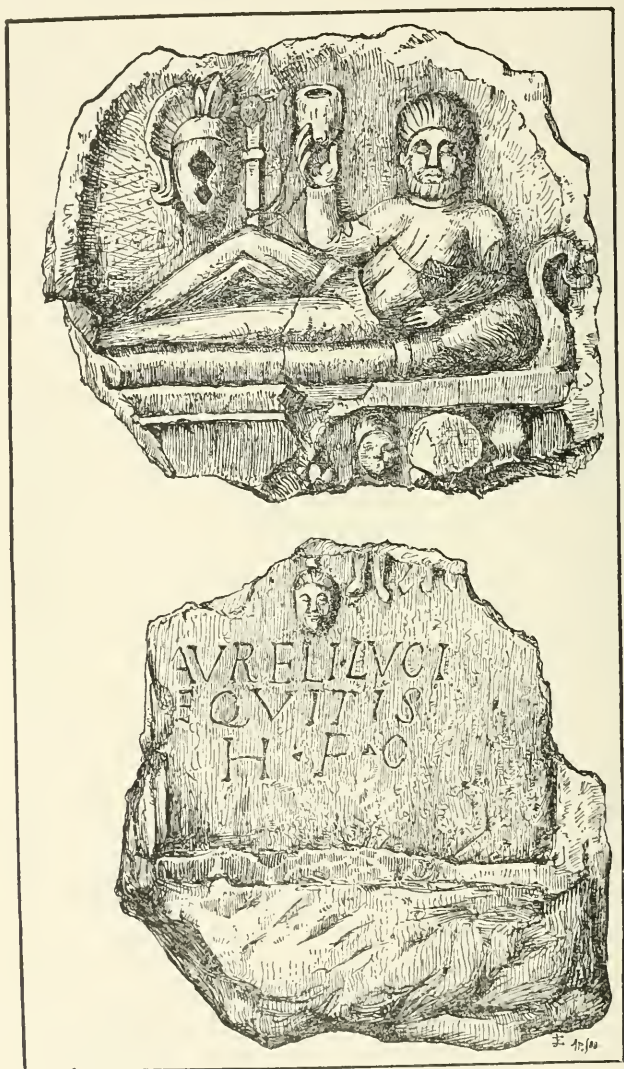
using it, I do not wish to express here any opinion as to the areas of the Roman camp at Chester.

Nearly all the recent finds in the north wall come from the lower courses which are earlier than and differ very markedly from the superstructure. One or two, which seem to have been found higher up, were originally, I think, part of the older wall to which these lower courses belonged. When the upper part of this older wall was repaired, it was not unnatural that some of the stones in it should find their way into the newer superstructure. It is, therefore, not incorrect to say that all the Roman inscriptions and sculptures recently found in the north wall were probably built up by those who erected what are now the lower courses of the present wall. The date of these lower courses is a matter of notorious controversy. In the *Academy* (n. 894) I ventured to suggest that they belong to the age of Septimius Severus (say 200 A.D.), and I was much gratified to find that Professor Hübner, writing a little later in the *Deutsche Literaturzeitung* (1889, column 1087), had independently arrived at the same conclusion. Mr. Roach Smith (*Antiquary* xvii, 41, 242, and xix, 41) requires a later date, the fourth century A.D., though I venture to think that what we know of fourth century Britain is quite adverse to such a view, and that the masonry is not what one usually calls late Romano-British work. At the same time, it must be admitted that the examples of Roman walls containing sepulchral and other stones, are mostly of late date. The walls of Neumagen, for instance, from the foundation of which the Trier Museum has been enriched with such astonishingly fine statuary, etc., are of Constantinian date.¹ Mr. Watkin, lastly, Mr. Shrubsole, and others refer the lower courses to the middle ages.

In any case the stones found are all earlier than 200 A.D. I should not, indeed, venture to go so far as Professor Hübner does in a paper lately read before the Chester Archæological Society, and assign precise dates, on palæographical grounds, to various inscriptions. But, it is clear from the lettering that none of these inscriptions are later than Severus, and such actual evidence as we have points the same way. One inscription, for instance, mentions the *præfectus castrorum*, an officer who, at least under this title, ceased to exist about A.D. 200.

¹ It was at a late date, too, that tomb-stones were used for the foundations of

the Roman road at Worms.



TOMBSTONE WITH BANQUETING SCENE.

Earwaker, pl. ix. (See No. 32.)

With two exceptions, the stones are of red sandstone, such as is found in abundance near the city. The two exceptions are a piece of sculpture and the inscription beginning *PVB 7 LEG V MACED*. These are seemingly made of a stone found some ten miles from Chester, and Mr. Shrubsole has ingeniously suggested that they may belong together.

31. [Eph. vii, 884.] Fragment 24 in. high, 12 in. wide, with large deep letters of an early date—



Shape and contents shew clearly that we have here part of an *epistylum*, recording some erection of buildings. In line 1 we have *et* joining two nouns, (say) *templu]m et [porticum*; line 2 shews that they were sacred; line 3 commences [*faciundum curavit*] or the like. Probably the letters were filled up with metal letters, such as have been found at Colchester and Lydney Park.

32. [Eph. vii, 886.] Inscription 26 in. long, 20 high: above is the figure of a soldier lying on a couch, with a handleless cup¹ in the right hand, a sword and helmet² near, and a boy standing in front. The annexed illustration is reproduced from Plate ix in Mr. Earwaker's book.

{ A V R E L I · L V C I
E Q V I T I S
H · F · C

h(eres) f(aciundum) c(uravit).

The recumbent figure in the anaglyph above this inscription belongs to the class of funeral monuments in which the dead man is represented as reclined on a couch at a table. This class—with differences in detail—is very widely spread, and is to be found on Etruscan Lycian and Greek, as well as on Roman tombs. Mr. Earwaker's book includes plates of four others found in the north

¹ This cup on Roman monuments is usually if not always handleless.

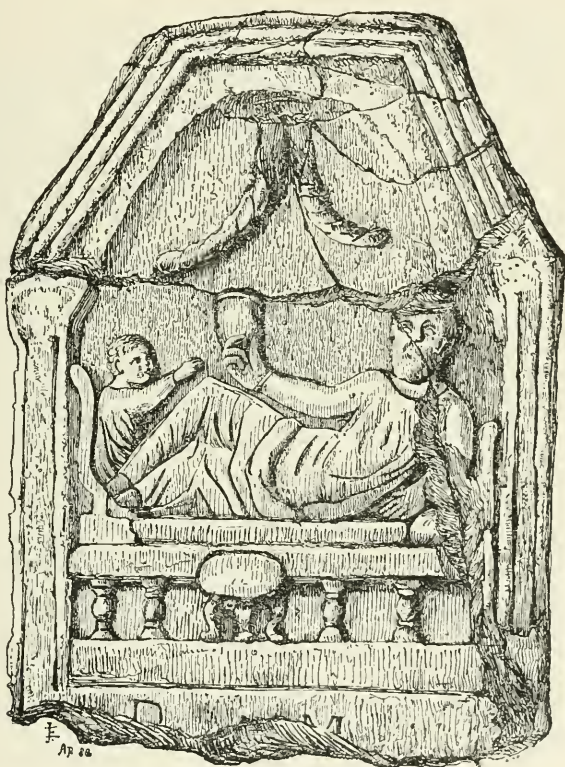
² The helmet seems to be represented full face in the vizor and side face in the crest.

wall (Plates iii, iv, viii, pp. 8, 18, 104). A fifth, from Chester, surmounts an almost illegible inscription in the Grosvenor Museum (C. n. 173). A sixth is on the stone of Callimorphus (Eph. iii, n. 69). The other British instances which I have been able to collect are one from Kirkby Thore (C. n. 303*a*) ; one from York (C. n. 1343) ; and one from Lanchester (Bruce *lapid. septentrionale* n. 705) uninscribed ; and the bilingual inscription at South Shields (Eph. iv, n. 718*a*). Through the kindness of Mr. J. P. Earwaker, F.S.A., I am able to give plates of some tombstones from the north wall of Chester.

A banqueting scene seems out of place on a tombstone, and several theories have been invented to explain it. Some have thought that it is retrospective, representing the ordinary past enjoyment of the dead. Others consider it to refer to offerings brought by the family to the dead. A third view—that of the Russian archæologist, Stephani—holds that the scene sets forth the enjoyments of the dead in Hades. The true explanation, I think, is that given by Professor Percy Gardner, who has treated the subject exhaustively in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* (v. pp. 105-139). He points out that the earliest types of “the banqueting scene” are to be found on certain early Attic and Laconian tombstones, on which the dead are represented as seated in state holding a wine-cup and pomegranate, to receive the worship of his descendants. The wine-cup reminds them to pour libations to him ; the pomegranate is the peculiar food of the dead.¹ The annexed cut reproduced from the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, by permission of the Council of the Society for Hellenic Studies, represents such an early Laconian tombstone. It may seem a far cry from these early Greek works to the Roman sculptures at Chester, but the gradual change and development of type can be minutely traced. Of course, many of the details visible on the later “banqueting scenes” are purely conventional. If we were to ask what the Romans themselves meant when they carved and erected them the answer would probably be that they copied their predecessors.

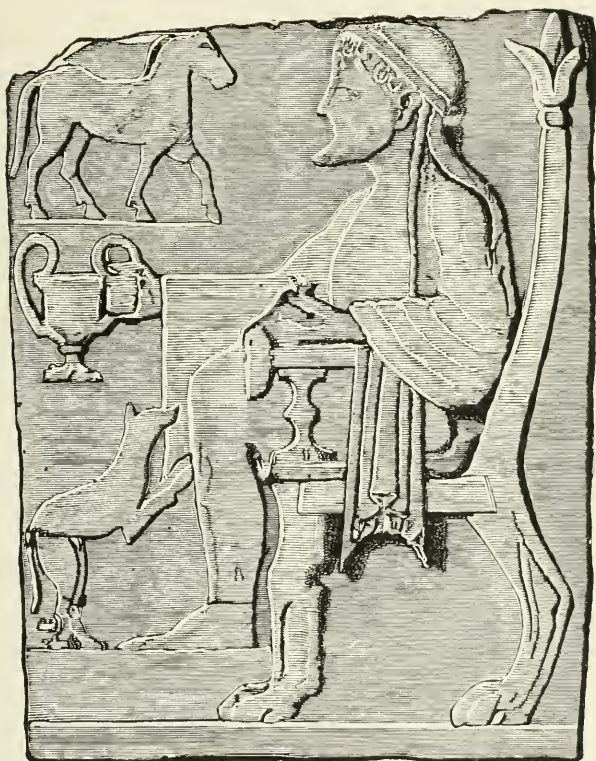
¹ Miss J. E. Harrison (*Mythology and Monuments of Ancient Athens*, pp. 587-592) tries to get further back than this, but, I think, without proving her case.

The Austrian scholars who have been exploring Lycia seem to uphold the first of the views quoted above.



TOMBSTONE WITH BANQUETING SCENE.

Earwaker, pl. iii. (See p. 245.)



EARLY LACONIAN TOMBSTONE.

Journal of Hellenic Studies, v, 123. (See p. 246.)



TOMBSTONE WITH BANQUETING SCENE.
 Earwaker, pl. viii. (See No. 34)

33. [Eph. vii, 893.] 50 in. high, 41 in. wide, with very large letters—

	(D I S M	<i>Dis M(anibus)</i>
	L · E C I M I V S	<i>L. Ecimius</i>
	B E L L I C I N V V ^a	<i>Bellicianus</i>
	V I T A L I S · V E T R	<i>Vitalis vet(er)anus)</i>
5	L E G · X X · V · V	<i>leg(ionis) xx v(aleriac) v(icticis)</i>
	H I C · S E P L ^a	<i>hic sep(c)l(itus)</i>

Tombstone of the veteran L. Ecimius Bellicianus Vitalis. The name Ecimius does not seem to occur elsewhere; Bellicianus is already known from Caerleon (C. n. 133 and 1255), and elsewhere abroad. The suggestion of *sepelitus* (for *sepultus*) is due to Professor Mommsen. The form, I may add, occurs in a fragment of Cato and on a good many inscriptions.

34. [Eph. vii, 890.] A large stone, 45 in. high, 25 in. wide: above is an anaglyph similar to n. The lettering is rather indistinct but certain. Mr. Earwaker has kindly allowed me to reproduce the annexed illustration (Plate viii in his book).

	D M	
	CECILIVS DONATVS B	<i>D(is) M(anibus)</i>
	ESSVS NA	<i>C(a)ccilius Donatus</i>
	TIONEMILI	<i>Bessus natione</i>
5	TAVIT ANN	<i>militavit annos xxvi</i>
	OS XXVI · VIX	<i>vixit annos xxx.</i>
	IT ANNOS XXXX..	

The Bessi were a Thracian tribe. Thrace was one of the great Roman recruiting grounds, and we find definite Bessians in particular mentioned as serving in the praetorian guard, the legions, the auxiliaries, and the fleets. There was also at one time a *cohors Flavia Bessorum*. The length of service, twenty-six years, is unusual, twenty years being the nominal limit. But inscriptions give us instances of thirty-three, thirty-eight, and forty years service (C. iii, 2014, 2818, 2710). The usual age of enlistment was about twenty.

35. [Eph. vii, 891]. 42 in. high, 15 in. wide : rather indistinct.

	D	
	G C E S	<i>D(is) [M(anibus)]</i>
	V S · T E V R N I C	<i>G(aius) Ces[ti ?]</i>
	A N · X X X · M I	<i>-us Teurnic[us ? (vixit)]</i>
5	L E G · X X · V V · S	<i>an(nos) xxx, mi[les]</i>
	X · H · F · C	<i>leg(ionis) xx v.v. s[tipendia]</i>
		<i>x.h(erces) f(aciundum) c(uravit)</i>

The text is a little uncertain, as the second line may read G C F S, but I think it is right. *Gaius Cestius* (?) *Teurnicus* will have got his name from Teurnia, a town in Noricum, on the upper course of the Drau, near the modern Gmünd. Possibly it was his birthplace. G for *Gaius* is not unknown, though C is far more usual.

36. [Eph. vii, 896.] Mutilated sculpture of two men, one apparently with a horn, 29 in. high, 21 wide. Beneath, in elegant letters—

HERMAGOR
ET FELICISS
FR.....POM

The fragment cannot be completed with certainty. The first line is clearly *Hermagor[as]*, not, as was at one time suggested, *Herma cor[nicen]*. See *Antiquary* xix (1889) pp. 44, 135.

37. [Eph. vii, 987]. Stone 36 in. wide, by 24 long : fine lettering of a good date.

	Q L O N G I N V S	<i>Q(uintus) Longinius</i>
	P O M E N T I N A	<i>Pomentina</i>
	L A E T V S · L V C O	<i>Laetus Luco</i>
5	S T P · X V	<i>stip(endia) xv</i>
	> C O R N E L · S E V E R	<i>(centuria) Corneli Sencri</i>

“Q. Longinius Laetus, of the Pomptine tribe, from Lucus, served fifteen years in the century of Cornelius Severus [in the xxth Legion?].” There are two points of interest here: (1) *Pomentina* is a rare but perfectly well-known form of *Promptina*, of which Kubitschek in his *De Rom. Tribuum Origine* quotes several instances (C. vi, 2577, 3884; Eph. iv, p. 221. (2) *Lucus* is a town in N.W. Spain, in a district which has yielded us several other citizens belonging to the Pomptine tribe. The fact is difficult to explain. The Pomptine tribe is very rarely met with outside of Italy, and, at the bestowals of franchise on various Spanish districts, other tribes were selected in which to enrol the new citizens. We know that the districts enfranchised by Augustus were placed in the Gale-rian tribe, and those enfranchised by Vespasian in the Quirine. It is probable that, at some time unknown, various individuals in N.W. Spain received the franchise with the Pomptine tribe. Kubitschek connects this with Galba (A.D. 67), but his theory is by no means proven.

38. [Eph. vii, 898.] 7 in. wide, 14 in. high; large letters—

D	M
C	P V B LII
F	R . M I

D(is) M(anibus) C. Publi[lius ?...signif]er mi[litavit ?...]
Publius itself is not a *nomen*.

39. [Eph. vii, 899.] 33 in. broad, 27 in. high; fine lettering—

D · M · P · R V S T O

D(is) M(anibus) P(ublio) Rustio

F A B A · C R E S C E N · B R X

Fabia Crescen(ti) Brix(ia)

M I L · L E G · X X V V

mil(es) leg(ionis) xx . v . v .

A N · X X X · S T P · X

an(norum) xxx, stip(endiorum) x

5 G R O M A · H E R E S

Groma heres

F A C C V R /

fac(iundum) cur(avit)

“To Publius Rustius Crescens, of the Fabian tribe, from Brixia, a soldier of the 20th Legion, aged 30, 10 years service. Groma his heir erected this.”

Brixia, now Brescia, in North Italy (Gallia Cisalpina) belonged to the Fabian tribe. Gallia Cisalpina, Italy, north of the Rubicon, was included in Italy proper in 42 B.C. Under the Emperors, all Italy was relieved from the burden of service in the legions. Probably this is due, as Mommsen thinks, to Vespasian: certainly regular legionary recruiting came to an end in Italy shortly after 70 B.C., and though we do find Italian legionaries later—there were some on the Antonine wall at one time, C. n. 1095—they are the exception. As this inscription is an early one, it is quite possible that Rustius was enrolled before 70 B.C.

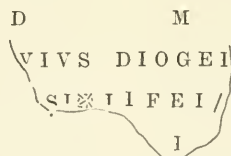
Groma is probably the name of the heir; it is known only as a noun feminine, meaning a surveyor's measure.

49. [Eph. vii, 902.] 24 in. long, 16 in. high; the lettering is very faint—

TITINIVS FELIX B	<i>Titinius Felix b(beneficiarius) ?</i>
. . LEG XX VV MIL AN	<i>[legati ?] leg(ionis) xx. vv. mil(itavit)</i>
. . . I X A N X L V	<i>an(nos) . . . [v]ix(it) an(nos) xlv</i>
. . IVL SIMILINA CO	<i>Iul(ia) Similina coniux et</i>
5 NIVX ET HERE . . .	<i>here [des posuerunt]</i>

The reading of the first letters in line 2 is very uncertain. When I examined the stone I could make out nothing. Professor Mommsen, using a squeeze provided by Mr. Shrubsole, read (rather doubtfully) I S G-, of which nothing can be made. He suggested that possibly the right reading might be L E G, which I have adopted in my expansion. If this is right, Titinius was *beneficiarius legati*, "attendant of the commander of the legion" (see note to n. 43). But it must be remembered that this is only conjecture, though very probable conjecture.

41. [Eph. vii, 904.] 31 in. long, 40 in. high; above is a mutilated standard-bearer—



D(is) M(anibus) . . . ius Diogen[es] . . . si[gn]ife[r] . . .
 "The tomb of . . . ius Diogenes . . . standard bearer."

42. [Eph. vii, 906.] Fragment 30 in. square—

IN · XXVI
IVRMA · VIIIX sic
FRATER · FEC

Part of a tombstone put up by the dead man's brother. I can give no explanation of line 2. It has been thought that we should read *turma* and suppose the man to have served in the cavalry. If so, he can only have served in an auxiliary *ala*, since the legion had only 4 *turmae*, while the *ala* had sometimes 16 (500 men), sometimes 24 (1000 men). Professor Hübner supposes that the man was first in the 8th then in the 10th *turma*, but this is surely a counsel of despair. Besides, the invariable rule is to identify the *turma* by its decurion's, *i.e.*, commander's name, and not by a numeral at all.

43. [Eph. vii, 907.] 12 in. high, 14 in. long.

MISSICI ·
VA · BTR
XX · III · VIXIT

missici

[*ex ala Claudia ? no*]va b[eneficiarius] tr[ibunus]

[mil(itavit) ann(os)] xxiii, vixit . . .

“[To the memory of . . .] discharged honorably from [the *ala Claudia no*]va, (?) beneficiary of the tribune, [served] 23 years, lived . . .” *Missicius* is a term used both in literature (*e.g.* by Suetonius) and on inscriptions to denote “men in the position of *honestæ missione missi*.” The word is formed like *dediticius*, “one in position of subject or prisoner” (*deditus*) or *deducticius*, “one in position of a colonist” (*deductus*). The *ala Claudia nova* is mentioned as being in Germany in A.D. 74, and three inscriptions have been found in Dalmatia erected (at uncertain dates) to soldiers in it. The conjecture that it was mentioned on this stone is due to Professor Mommsen.

A *beneficiarius* was a soldier who was given exemption from onerous duties by a superior officer, whose attendant or sentry he probably became. A complete list of all known—over 430—is given in the *Ephemeris* (iv, pp. 379-401). There are enumerated (1) 162 *beneficarii con-*

sulares who received their privilege from *legati*, provincial governors of consular rank; (2) 16 *b. legati Aug. pro praetore*, where the governor was a praetorian; (3) 25 *b.* of commanders of legions (*legati legionum*); (4) 27 of procurators; (5) 57 of various *praefecti*; (6) 31 of tribunes, of legions, cohorts, or *alae*; (7) 2 of *praesides*. For the rest, we cannot determine the officer to whom they were attached.

44. [Eph. vii, 914.] Fragment—

.. I N I V S	perhaps	[D. M.]
... I N V S		... Tere]ntius ..
... R V I		.... Sab]inus ...
		..... anno]ru[m ..

This was not included in Mr. Earwaker's book; it was first pointed out to me by Mr. Shrubsole. The restoration of the names is, of course, pure guesswork.

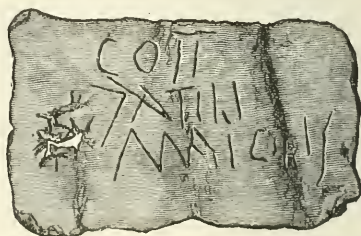
I omit here, as wholly unimportant for the purposes of the present article, some smaller fragments (Eph. vii, 909-913), which have only a few letters on them and prove nothing.

B.—Other discoveries in Chester.

45. [Eph. vii, 878.] A thin plate of lead $2\frac{3}{8}$ in. long found in 1886 in Grey Friars, near the abutment of the city wall; a hypocaust was found at the same place. The accompanying wood-cut represents both sites of the object full size—



Co II.
7 Atili
Maiori



Co II.
7 Atili
Maioris

I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. C. Roeder, of Fallowfield, Manchester, for a loan of the plate and in-

formation as to the find. The object has been already described in this *Journal* (xliv, 125), but not, I think, correctly.

The inscription seems to resemble that of centurial stones, *co(hortis) II, (centuria) Atili Maioris*. I presume it was used for indicating some property or other of the century in question. I have never seen anything like it elsewhere. In size and shape it somewhat resembles the *Laminae Concordienses* edited by Pais (*Supplementa Italica ad C. v, n. 1090*), but these were apparently tickets to shew the amount and price of a private shopkeeper's goods.

46. [Eph. vii, 881.] Centurial stone, ansated, 12 in. long, 7 in. high, found in Eastgate street in 1888, now in the Grosvenor Museum: the second line is not quite certain—

CHOR III

OTTERO

Copied by myself; edited in the *Proceedings of the Newcastle Society of Antiquaries* iii, 387.

Possibly *c(o)hor(tis) iii, (centuria) Ter(entii) Ro(man)i*. The theory of some archæologists that these stones had to do with land-tenure is quite incorrect. They simply mark the amount of wall built by the centuria which erected them.

I omit here, as unimportant, one fragment (Eph. vii, 883) found near the north wall. Instead, I may add an inscription found at Worms in Germany in 1888, and edited by Professor Zangemeister in the *Westdeutsches Korrespondenzblatt* vii, n. 76, col. 115-7.¹ The reading, supplying what is lost, is—

[*In honorem*] *domu[s] divinae, Marti Loucetio sacrum Amandus Velugni f(ilius) Devas*.

Devas here apparently means “of Deva,” indicating that the dedicator Amandus was an inhabitant or native of Roman Chester. The date of the inscription cannot be fixed. The letters are well formed; the *domus divina* is rarely mentioned before the end of the second century; other remains found near this stone are of much later date. The peculiar interest of the inscription to us is

¹ I was lately ble to take squeezes of the stone for the Chester Museum.

this—that it is the first mention, on any inscribed object, of the Roman name of the city. The name has, indeed, been read on a lead trough at Northwich (Eph. vii, 1184), but the reading is far too uncertain to prove anything. The coins supposed to be inscribed COL . DIVANA, are, no doubt, the result of error or forgery (Watkin's *Cheshire*, pp. 9-10). The very idea that Deva was a *colonia*, though shared by Mr. Watkin (*Cheshire*, p. 242) is erroneous. The place was an important military fortress, not a town with any sort of civil rights, and it owes its epigraphical importance to this fact. Had it been a *municipium* or *colonia* (the two are nearly identical), we should never have had the important inscriptions yielded by the north wall.

XVIII. LINCOLN.

47. [Eph. vii, 918.] Fragment, 5 in. wide, in the Cathedral cloisters—



Copied by myself. It is, of course, unintelligible.

48. On the rim of a *pelvis*, in the possession of Mr. Allis—

Q · S A S E R Q. Saser(na).

Sent me by Mr. Roach Smith, and edited by him in the *Journal* of the Archaeological Association. It is a known stamp, a specimen on an amphora from Lincoln being in the British Museum (C. n. 1331, 110), but it does not seem to have been found elsewhere; we have therefore, a local potter's work.

49. I may add a word here as to the *Parcis Deabus* altar [Eph. vii, 916], now in S. Swithin's Church. The last two lines are C V R A T O R · T E R · | A R · D · S · D which Mr. Roach Smith explains as *curator terrarum*. The other explanation *curator ter*, "for the third time," he says, cannot be correct. However, the use of *curator* by itself, generally (it would seem) denoting "curator of the shrine," is certainly capable of parallel, and the use of the numeral adverb for the more usual number (TER for

III.) is quite well-known. We have, for instance, a *curator nautarum bis* on a Lyons inscription (Wilman's 2235), a *legatus pro praetore ter* at Rome (Henzen 5368), and so forth. Mr. Roach Smith's own suggestion that the altar belongs to the age of Diocletian, is, I think, wrong. First, the lettering is that of at least sixty years earlier; secondly, the only evidence for the late date is a coin legend, *Fatis Victricibus*, and the *Fatae* (this, not *Fata*, seems to be the nominative plural) are frequently mentioned on inscriptions of the second century. (See further *Antiquary*, xxi, (1890) 257.)

XIX. SLACK, ILKLEY, SOUTH YORKSHIRE AND DERBYSHIRE.

50. [Eph. vii, 920.] The altar found in 1880 near Slack, now in the Greenhead Park at Huddersfield, is inscribed—

D E O

Deo

B ER G A T I

Berganti

T · N · A V G ·

et n(um)inibus Aug(ustorum)

T · A R · Q V I N I S

T. Aur(dius) Quintus

5 D · D · P · T S · S ·

d(onum) d(edit) p(ecunia) et s(umptu) s(uo)

With the aid of Mr. G. W. Tomlinson, F.S.A., I was able to examine this stone. The text given by Mr. Watkin (*Arch. Journ.*, xl, 139 and elsewhere) is incorrect. The expansion of the fifth line was suggested by Professor Mommsen. Mr. Watkin's *decreto decurionum* is impossible, because the place was neither a *colonia* nor a *municipium*, and had therefore no *decuriones* (municipal magistrates). The God "Bergans" is no doubt connected with the *dea Brigantia* (C. n. 200, 203). Mr. Whitley Stokes, one of the highest authorities on Keltic philology, has been good enough to send me the following note on the name—"The words *Brigantes* and *Brigantia*, like the Gaulish *Brigiani* and the Irish *Brigit*, regularly descend from a root *bhrgh* (with the *r* vowel) whence also the Sanskrit *brhant*. *Berganti* cannot come from this root, but it may, and I think it does, come from another form of the same root, namely *bhergh*. Hence also the Zend *berzant* "great, high," the exact reflex of

Bergant-i. Hence also, probably, the Gaulish god *Bergimus* (Orelli, 1970, 1972) and *Bergomum* (now *Bergamo*, in north Italy), *Bergintrum*, *Bergusia*, *Bergion*, and others (see Zeuss *Grammatica Celtica*, ed. 2, pp. 770 and 1125, and Glück *Keltische Namen*, pp. 89, 95 note, 151, 153, 191)." I may add, by way of explanation, a parallel from Greek to the double roots *bhergh*, *bhrgh*. In Greek the vowel *r* becomes *ra*, and in the verb (for instance) *δέρκομαι* "I see," we have exactly the same pair of roots—*δερκ* in the present, *δρακ* in the second aorist, *ἔδρακον* (originally **ἔδρκον*).

51. [Eph. vii, 921.] An Ilkley inscription, now in the vestry of the church there, has often been misread. The text is—

	[D. M.]
P V D E	[<i>praenomen and nomen</i>]
T E S S E R	<i>Pude[ntis] ?</i>
	<i>Tesser[arii]</i>
LEG · II · A	<i>Leg[ionis] II Aug[ustae]</i>

Copied by myself. I owe to Mr. R. Blair, F.S.A., the hint where to find the stone. "To ... *Pudens*, *tesserarius* of the *Legio II. Augusta* ..." The *tesserarius* was an inferior officer who distributed the watchword written on a small ticket or *tessera*: there was one in each century. The old reading *Pudentius Iesseius* is nothing less than absurd. I suppose the stone to be a tombstone, because the sketches, (as they seem to be) given by Whitaker and by Collyer shew the letters DM at the top. But the inscription is perfect at the bottom and on the left hand side, and *if* these sketches are not firsthand, the DM may be inaccurate and the stone a dedication to some god put up by the soldier.

52. [Eph. vii, 1181.] Found on Staincrossmoor, near Barnsley, in 1782; now lost—

DEO MAR	<i>Deo Mar(ti)</i>
PRO SALVI	<i>Pro Salu[te]</i>
DD NN	<i>(dominorum nostrorum)</i>
IMP AVG	<i>imp[eratoris] Au[relii] ?</i>

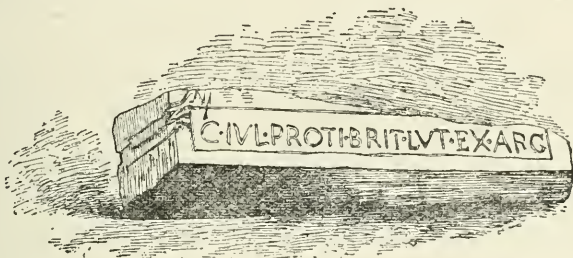
Published, from Mr. J. C. Brooke's papers, by R. Jackson, *History of Barnsley*, p. 233.

Probably the lower part of the stone is lost. The title *dominus noster* first appears about 200 A.D., and becomes common after A.D. 284. The last word may be wrong. If we read *Aurelius*, we may suppose the inscription to have commemorated any Emperor in the third century who bore that name and had a colleague.

53. Pig of lead weighing 135 lbs., 22 in. long, 4½ in. wide, 5½ in. deep, found in 1890 at South Cave, near Brough, Yorkshire, (where the Roman road from Lincoln crosses the Humber); the last letter is broken, thus:

A R G.

Now in the possession of C. E. G. Barnard, Esq., Cave Castle.



(Gaii) Iul(ii) Proti Brit'annicum) Lut(udense) ex arg(ento)

Mr. Barnard sent me a squeeze and full details; I am also indebted to Mr. W. Stephenson, of Beverley, for a reading. Published in the *Hull Express*, March 1 and 3, 1890, and in the *Eastern Morning News*, March 7, with a note by myself; afterwards in the *Illustrated London News*, No. 2664, p. 587, with a cut from a photograph (which, as I understand, was not taken direct from the original). I am obliged to the proprietors of the *Illustrated* for an electrotpe.

The inscription is identical with that of a pig found near Mansfield (Notts) in 1848 (C. n. 1216), and now in the British Museum. Lutudae was somewhere in South Derbyshire, where Protus was lessee of a lead mine, probably state property. Another Lutudensian lead manufacturer is known to us, Tiberius Claudius Trophimus (C. n. 1215). The words *ex argento* imply that the silver had been extracted, as was always done and as analysis of actual Roman pigs has shewn. Silver being the more valuable metal, the lead is said to have been taken "from the silver."

Roman remains have been found at Brough, where Mr. Barnard tells me, coins are so common as to be called "cow farthings"—the "cow" being the rustic interpretation of the Wolf with Romulus and Remus. A fragment of another lead pig has been found here, some date before 1700, inscribed BR EX ARG. Possibly it was shipped on the Humber into trading vessels; otherwise Brough is off the direct line from Lutudae to anywhere.

I may add here an inscribed pig of British lead found in 1883 in France, in the bank of the old harbour of Saint-Valéry-sur-Somme in 1883, and now in the museum of Saint-Germain. It weighs about 165 lbs., and is inscribed—

NERONIS AVG BRITAN L · II
Neronis Augusti Britan(nicum) ... ?

Published first by M. J. Vaillant *Un Saumon de Plomb Antique* (Boulogne); then, more correctly, by Professor Cagnat *L'Année Epigraphique* 1888 (n. 53, p. 10).

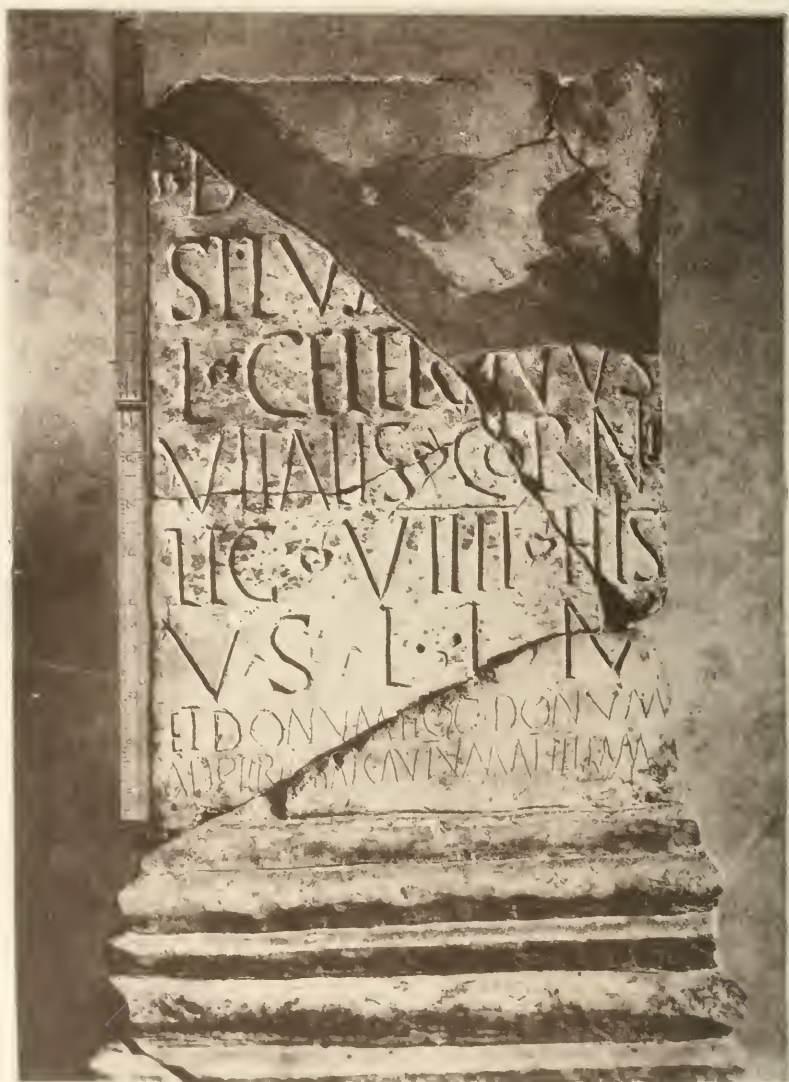
The expansion of L · II is doubtful. M. Cagnat proposes *Legio II* comparing a lead pig (C. n. 1209 b) found on the road from Shrewsbury to Montgomery, and said—no doubt correctly, though not on the best authority—to be inscribed LEG XX. There is no reason why a legion should not have provided workmen for the mines, which were State property, but the second legion, whether at Gloucester or at Caerleon, is rather far from the lead districts. If the lead be Mendip lead, the legion may have worked the mine before it went to Caerleon, though it was stationed there, as I believe, at a very early date.

Nero reigned A.D. 54-68, so this pig, like one found in Hampshire C. n. 1203) belongs to an early period of the Roman Conquest. Two earlier ones are known, both of the year A.D. 49.

54. On the brim of a *pelvis*, in an irregular cartouche of chocolate coloured pigment, moulded by hand, found at Little Chester, near Derby: the last letter is uncertain—

VIVIVIZ.

Published by Mr. John Ward, *Derbyshire Archaeological Journal*, xi, 86, and *Reliquary*, April, 1889 (iii, 65) with a plate; hence in some foreign papers. If this has (as I presume) been rightly read, I can offer no explanation, for the letters look like an ornament, rather than a name.



ROMAN INSCRIPTION FOUND AT YORK, 1884.

The way in which they are done is curious, and may well be unique.

XXII. YORK.

55. [Eph. vii, 928.] I am able to give what I believe to be a somewhat better interpretation of part of a remarkable inscription found at the Mount in 1884, and now in the York Museum (*Archæological Journal*, xlii, 152). The annexed collotype plate, being prepared from a photograph, is as accurate, I hope, as a plate can be. The upper part of the inscription is quite plain.

D[eo Sancto] Silva[no sacrum] L. Celerin[i]us Vitalis, corni(cen [or corni(cularius)] leg(ionis) IX Hispanae v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).

Below this are two lines scratched rudely on—

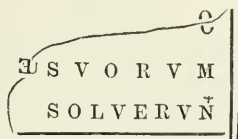
E T D O N V M H O C · D O N V M
A D P I I R T N I A T C A V T V M A T T I G G A M

Canon Raine and Professor H bner read this *Fido num(ini) hoc donum adpertineat: cautum attigam*, “Let this gift belong to the faithful deity: let me take care how I touch,” comparing the old Latin *cave vestem attigas*. The reading *Fido* is possible, for though the stone has certainly E T, the letters have been recut deeper, and *may* have been cut wrong the second time. But Professor Hirschfeld suggests for the first part, *Et don(um) hoc do: num(ini) adpertineat*: “And I give this gift: let it belong to the deity.” Professor Mommsen remarks on the last two words, ‘*cautum attigam* is *caute atti[n]gam*, words put into the mouth of a passer-by, “I will touch cautiously.” The latter does not differ much from Canon Raine’s interpretation, but it seems to me to give a slightly better grammatical construction.

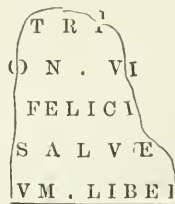
In the Ephemeris, the word *adpertineat* is accidentally misprinted AD.PIIRTNIAT.

56-57. [Eph. vii, 1182-1183.] Two fragments found (as Mr. F. A. Leyland tells me) at York, now in the Halifax Museum—

15 by 8 in.



10 by 14 in.



Copied by myself. Apparently votive inscriptions, erected "for the safety of themselves and their family." The concluding words in each case were *libenter solverunt*.

58. [Eph. vii, 1155.] Glass bottle inscribed round the bottom—

PATRIM ...

Edited incorrectly by Mr. Watkin. The stamp is the same as one found in Gaul at Arles (C. xii, 5696) PATRIMONIUM, which Hirschfeld considers to be simply the Latin word *patrimonium* and not *P(ublii) Atri(i) Moni(mi)*. A fragment found in Sussex, at Densworth, had probably the same stamp (C. n. 1276)

59. [Eph. vii, 1160.] An eagle like the one found at High Rochester (C. n. 1290, Bruce *lapid*, n. 578) is in York Museum. The only letter remaining is

M

Copied by myself. The High Rochester specimen reads COHOPTIMIMAXIM, or something like it. Meaning and use are unknown.

XLVI. CHESTERS.

60. [Eph. vii, 1016.] Two parts of an inscription which was probably 34 in. high by 40 long—



$$\begin{array}{c} \text{I O} \\ \text{PRO} \cdot \text{SA} \\ \text{GA} \cdot \text{VES} \end{array} \begin{array}{l} m. \\ au \\ ecundus? \end{array} \begin{array}{c} \text{D O} \\ \text{G G} \\ \text{NN} \end{array}$$

I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) Dol(icheno)
pro sal(ute) [Au]g(ustorum) n(ostorum)
Gal(crius) Ver[ecundus ? posuit]

Published (wrongly) by Mr. Watkin (*Archæological Journal* xlii, 1113, and xlv, 118) and others;¹ rightly in the *Archæologia Aethiana*, xiii, 357, with a print. Mr. R.

¹ The cut is not quite accurate: the A in line 2 should be A, i.e. A L.

Blair and myself corrected the reading and connected the fragments while on a visit at Chesters. The annexed cut and those to nos. 61, 62, 63, 66 are reproduced by permission from the *Arch. Aeliana*. They are drawn one-eighth of actual size, except no. 66, which is full size.

From the lettering, the inscription seems to belong to the early part of the third century. The Emperors are possibly Elagabalus and Alexander Severus, who appear to be commemorated on two other Chesters inscriptions (C. n. 585 ; Eph. iii, n. 100). Alexander was apparently raised to the title of Augustus before the murder of Elagabalus (A.D. 222), as Mommsen pointed out long ago (C. iii, p. 892) or *Augusti* may be put for 'Augustus et Caesar,' in flattering fashion, as sometimes happens (e.g. in a Roman inscription of A.D. 221). However, it is also possible that both this and Eph. iii, n. 100 refer to Septimius Severus and Caracalla who were *Augusti* between 198 and 211 A.D.

Juppiter Dolichenus is an Eastern god, so called from Doliche in Commagēnē (not from Doliche in Thessaly), who was worshipped very widely in the second and third centuries. At Rome he had a shrine on the Aventine and a *sodalitas* or brotherhood of priests, and is represented as standing on an ox, with a thunderbolt and an axe. Some connection with iron has been recently confirmed by a bronze tablet found at Pfünz in Germany, inscribed *I. O. M. Duliceno ubi ferum [exorit]ur* (*West-deutsches Korrespondenzblatt*, 1889, p. 71). But it is not to be supposed that an inscription to him shews that the Romans found iron at the spot. The best account of the god is given by Dr. F. Hettner *de Iove Dolicheno* (Bonn, 8, 1877.)

61. [Eph. vii, 1018.] Small altar, 6 in. high, found in 1889 in the North Tyne, near the Roman bridge at Chesters—



B V S
V E T E R I
B V S α

[di]bus
veteribus

Sent to me by Mr. R. Blair, F.S.A., who edited it afterwards in the *Archæologia Aeliana* xiii, 362. Altars to the *di veteres*, or *deus vetiris*, are common in the north of

England (there are over thirty known), but seem to occur nowhere else. There is no evidence to shew who they were; it has been plausibly conjectured that they are the "old (*i.e.*, heathen) gods," superseded by Christianity. The names of the dedicators, when given, afford no clue to any national worship. The conjecture that the Teutonic *Vidrir* (a name of Odin in the Edda) is the origin, seems impossible on phonetic grounds.

62. Eph. vii, 1019.] Fragment found in 1889, apparently in the N.E. angle of the camp—



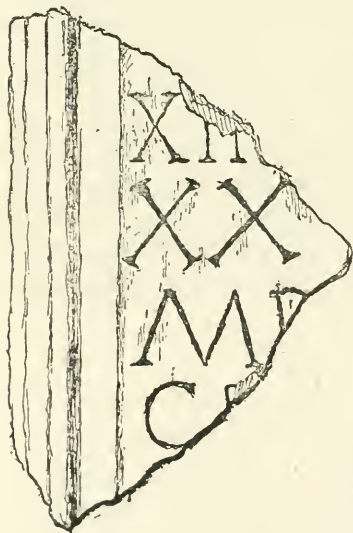
*Ha]*dr. A[ntonino Aug.

*Pi]*o P(atr) P(atric) . . .

legio VI [*victrix* ?

Sent me by Mr. Blair, edited by Dr. Bruce, *Archæologia Aeliana* xiii, 376. In Eph. vii, 1019, I printed the first line DRIA, from a drawing, but it appears that the small ⁱ is really a stop. The expansion is not affected by this.

Inscription to Antoninus Pius (A.D. 138-161), set up possibly by soldiers of the sixth legion.



63. [Eph. vii, 1030.] Fragment 22 in high, in the yard of the schoolhouse at Wall, a hamlet a little to the east of Chester—

Edited by Mr. Blair, *Archæologia Aeliana* xiii, 360.

No certain sense can be made of this, possibly the numerals shewed the years of service and life of some soldier. At least, it is difficult to account for them otherwise.

64. [Eph. vii, 1145.] Graffito, 6 in. long, on a broken tile in Mr. Clayton's collection at Chester—

{ G E I T O }

Copied by myself. Edited by Mr. Blair, *Archæologia Aeliana* xiii, 363, along with other graffiti, mostly on pottery of various kinds.

65. [Eph. vii, 1152.] Thin round lead plate, $1\frac{3}{4}$ in. in diameter, in Mr. Clayton's collection at Chesters—

IBIMVS

Copied by myself. Edited by Mr. Blair, *Arch. Ael.* xiii, 363.

66. [Eph. vii, 1152.] Lead seals found at Chesters, one bearing the head of Septimius Severus and his two sons, the other inscribed :—

	+ G +		CI
on one side:	AL AV	on the other :	IVLAS
	Q		Q



Edited by Mr. Blair, with a photograph, *Arch. Ael.* xiii, 362. *Al(a) Au(gusta)* and *Iulius* have been suggested as expansions ; the second, certainly, is most improbable. These seals resemble those found at Brough, *Bremenium*, South Shields, Felixstowe, &c., about which I hope to say more at another time. I may say here that the lead seal mentioned by Prof. Hübner as found in 1873 at York (Eph. iii, n. 129 and vii, 1153), is really medieval.

I may also add that these seals are not confined to Britain, as has been supposed. Several similar specimens were found some twenty-five years ago at Mainz, at a point on the Rhinebank where a Roman custom-house is thought to have stood. The originals are in the museum at Mannheim (ref. nos. D. 321 foll.) and there are casts in the Romano-Germanic Museum at Mainz (Nos. 4105, 4107, 4339 foll.)

D. 321 L A T

I N I

D. 322 S O P A

T R I S
└─→

These are all in oval frames, the reverses are blank but shew holes for string.

D. 324 I F D

D. 328 Mars to r. marching
with shield and spear.

Copied by myself, I print only those which can be easily deciphered.

Leaden seals have also been found at Rusicade (*Philippville*) in the Roman province of Africa and at Lyons. The former have devices, inscriptions such as QVINTIANI RVFINI, LCA, XCI, and stringholes. The latter have emperors' heads with AVGG DD NN, or LEG with a numeral, or various names, all with stringholes. Both are thought to be customhouse seals (*Cagnat Impôts Indirects* pp. 67, 72; C. viii, 10484; C. xii, 5699). I do not know how far they really resemble the British "seals," but there are some marked resemblances. Emperors' heads with AVGG have been found at S. Shields, seals with LEG II at Brough.

67. Lamps in Mr. Clayton's collection :—

- | | |
|-----------------------|------------------------------|
| 1. $\overline{A} E I$ | <i>Atei</i> |
| 2. A V F I F R O N | <i>Aufi(dii) Fron(tonis)</i> |
| 3. C V N B I T | |

Copied by myself.

X L V I I Carrawburgh.

68. [Eph. iv. n. 680, vii, 1032]. Altar, found at *Procolitia* preserved by Mr. Clayton at Chesters, 9in. by 4in., the lower part lost :—

M A T	<i>matribus</i>
R I B V	<i>com[munibus ?]</i>
<u>S · C o M</u>	

Copied by myself. This is the right reading of an inscription published by Mr. Watkin in this *Journal* xxxiv (1877), 131.

The reading is interesting because it fits in with a Chesters inscription (*Arch. Journ.* xlii, 142, Eph. vii, 1017), beginning :—

R I B V S C O M I I

In the latter, Ihm (*Bonner Jahrbücher*, 83, p. 174) proposed to read *L]aribus Com[italibus*, although these "Crossway Lares" do not occur elsewhere in England. The inscription given above shews clearly that *ribus* is to be completed *mat]ribus*. The explanation of *COM* is less clear. The "Augustae Comedovae" have been suggested, but they are not *Matres* in the proper sense of the word, and are known only from an inscription in Southern France (C. xii, 2443). It seems simplest and best to read *com[munibus]*, as, indeed Dr. Bruce has done, in his *Handbook to the Wall* (ed. 3, p. 103) in dealing with Eph. vii, 1017.

69. [Eph. vii, 1037.] Altar 37 in. long, 15 in. high, with very faint lettering, found in 1889, near the well of Coventina—

I M P H S	☞	C O V E N T I N A E	<i>ny]nphis et Coventinae</i>
.		T I A N V S D E C .	<i>. . . tianus dec(urio)?</i>
.		V O R	<i>.</i>
.		M R	<i>.</i>

Sent me, with a squeeze, by Mr. Blair, who has edited it, *Archæologia Aeliana* xiii, 363; a somewhat different reading was forwarded to me through Mr. Wallis Budge.

The word *Coventinae* seems quite certain, and the word *dec* I thought very probable when I saw the squeeze. The stone was, therefore, put up to the goddess by the *decurio*—commander of a *turma*—of a cavalry squadron. The garrison of Procolitia was an infantry cohort, so the dedicator must have been a stranger.

Full accounts of the Well of Coventina have been published by Mr. Clayton (*Archæologia Aeliana*, 1878), and Professor Hübner (*Hermes* xii, 257 foll.) Some minor corrections which I have been able to make in Professor Hübner's readings may be omitted here (Eph. vii, 1033-6.)

XLIX. CHESTERHOLM.

70. [Eph. vii, 1189 foll.] In 1885 a group of mile-stones, five fairly perfect, and two fragments, were discovered on the Crindledykes farm, close to the "Stane-gate" and a little to the east of *Vindolana*. They were published in the *Archæologia Aeliana* (xi, 130) and in this

Journal (xliii, 277). Three of the readings require corrections. I have collated all myself.

The milestone of Severus (n. 1 in Mr. Watkin's list) had seven lines; line five, now illegible, which contained the legate's name, is not represented in the books as missing, and should be marked as between the lines COS PPCVR and .GAVG. There is space for it.

The true reading of Mr. Watkin's No. 5 is (I have pointed out in the *Proceedings of the Newcastle Society of Antiquaries*, iv, 35)—

	IMP CAES	<i>Imp. Caes.</i>
	FLAV VAL	<i>Flav(io) Val(erio)</i>
	CoNSTANTINO	<i>Constantino</i>
	PIOF//NOB	<i>Pio F[el(ici)] Nob(ili)</i>
5	CAESARI	<i>Caesari</i>
	DIVI	<i>Divi</i>
	CoNSTANTI	<i>Constanti</i>
	PII AVG	<i>Pii Aug(usti)</i>
	FILIO	<i>Filio</i>

The reading of line five is not quite certain; PIO.FEL.NOB would be the ordinary formula. The stone was put up while Constantine, afterwards the Great, enjoyed the inferior title of Caesar, *i.e.*, between 306 and 308 A.D., in which latter year he was created Augustus.

Thirdly, the fragment LI denotes probably not *leuga* I. but the number of miles, *M(illia) P(assuum)* being broken off above it, or perhaps omitted altogether.

L. CAERVORAN.

71. [Eph. vii, 1057.] Altar, 9 in. high, found apparently at Caervoran, now at Chesters—seemingly unpublished—

DIBVS	<i>Dibus</i>
NIITIR	<i>Veteribus</i>
IBVS	<i>v(ot)u(m)</i>
VTM	

Copied by myself.

The abbreviation *utm* for *votum* belongs to the later period of Roman contractions. In early times the initial letters were used PR *praetor*, L or LEG *legio*; in later times consonants were picked out, MCP *municipium*, GLRSMVS *gloriosissimus*.

LV. CARLISLE.

72. Lamp found in excavating the new markets—

IECIDI

R. S. Ferguson, *Proc. Soc. Ant.* xii, 424, and *Trans. of Cumb. Arch. Soc.* 1890, p. 101. The name has been found on lamps in Switzerland (Mommson *Inscr. Helvet*, n. 350), in Southern France (C. xii, n. 5682), in various parts of Austria (C. iii, n. 6008 and 6286), and in Germany (Fröhner, p. 46, n. 1181). Mr. Roach Smith (quoted by Mr. Ferguson) calls it a potter's name, but I cannot find it recorded on any pottery, and, as Mommson has pointed out (C. iii and v), one and the same maker seems not to have made both pottery and lamps.

LIX. NETHERBY.

73. [Eph. vii, 1087.] Altar found at Netherby in 1882, seemingly unpublished—

DEO	<i>Deo</i>
H·VE	<i>N(umini)</i>
TIRI	<i>Vetiri</i>

Sent by Mr. F. Graham to Dr. Bruce, and by him to me. The H in line 2 represents a late and bad form of N, of which other instances occur. See the engravings in Dr. Bruce's *Lapidarium* of n. 280 H·VITERIBVS (C. n. 502*b*) and n. 312 (C. n. 502*a*).

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[Where nothing is added in brackets after the name, the finds include inscribed stones; where a square bracket is added, the finds recorded above do *not* include stones.]

OPENING ADDRESS OF THE ANTIQUARIAN SECTION
AT THE GLOUCESTER MEETING.¹

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I shall, in the few words in which I am about to address you, confine myself to those topics which have come within my personal observation during the past year, taking each of them as a sort of starting point, for I think that my address should, in part at all events, be a sort of *resumé* of the past year.

It might be thought that in such a well worked field as that of England it was not possible to find any new or startling thing, but any one who heard a paper which was read by Mr. A. J. Evans, the distinguished son of a distinguished father, at the Society of Antiquaries, in March last, must have at once had any such feeling dispelled. Mr. Evans, who has been pursuing certain excavations at Aylesford, in North Kent, came across a series of groups of interments containing urns of a class which had hitherto been called by the name of late Celtic. The description of the interments and the ornamentation of the urns led him to the conclusion that these interments were entitled to a separate and distinct denomination. I cannot do more than in the most general way describe what he shadowed out in his paper, which will be printed in *Archæologia*. It was to the effect that this species of interments could be identified as that of a separate and distinct race, which he believed to be Belgic. It was, of course, no new thing to be told that there was an incursion of Belgæ into England. The novelty of Mr. Evans's discovery was to be able to identify the interments of this race. He connects this class of interment in various ways—partly by the manner in which the urns are grouped, partly by the forms of the urns, and partly

¹ Read at the Annual Meeting of the Institute, at Gloucester, August 12th, 1890.

by their contents with similar interments on the other side of the Channel. Coupling this with the peculiar forms of the vases in which the interments were made, he traces the race through the north of France to the upper part of the Adriatic, following pretty much in the same route as a person travelling from London to Venice by the Saint Gothard route would now travel. Mr. Evans is not a person to leave so interesting a subject without having thoroughly investigated it, and we may look forward to a distinct addition to our knowledge of the inhabitants of this country at a time shortly preceeding the first Roman Invasion, to a knowledge also of the history of the people who went to compose the English race who resisted Julius Cæsar on his landing.

I believe it is not likely that traces of the Belgæ will be found so far westward as this. We, in the east of England, are, of course, more directly interested in them. Some authors have attributed to them the construction of the great wall which turned the northern half of Romney Marsh into the fertile plain which it now is.

Upon this plain many Roman remains have been found, so that it is quite certain that the wall existed in their time, but it is, of course, possible that it may be their work and not that of the Belgæ; however, as I have said before, Mr. Evans is not the man to leave any subject which he has made his own incomplete, and we may look upon this discovery as only the opening page of the history of the Belgæ in England. Here I find I am trespassing on the historical ground of my dear friend the Dean of Gloucester.

I will only add that for my part I am looking forward to something of this sort. When I was a boy I was taught that the ancient Britons who resisted Julius Cæsar wore flowing white robes, and were dressed in the skins of animals. I expect every day to be told that the flowing white robes were smock frocks, and the skins of animals were leather gaiters. I have seen some ancient Britons still in this uniform in the eastern part of England.

Speaking of digging I am led to mention a project which has been set on foot by the Society of Antiquaries and is now in active work, and to which I, for my part, intend to give my cordial assistance—I mean the excava-

tion of Silchester. This is no place to discuss whether Silchester is Calleva or some other town; I shall refrain from expressing any opinion for fear it should lead to a discussion. Of one thing there is no doubt, that in the fields under the surface there are the remains of a large Roman town, divided, like all Roman towns, into squares. It is at all events worth while to uncover this space to see what the foundations will teach us. For my part I do not expect to find anything startling. I shall be surprised if the result is not to disclose the fact that a Roman town must have looked very much like, say, such a town as Cordova does now—that the shops were gathered together in bazaars like the remaining Imperial Bazaar at Constantinople, and that the houses themselves were not unlike in their shape and arrangements to the houses of a French provincial town, only the modern houses have no bath and are much less comfortable and not so well warmed.

The excavation is in good hands, but I may be permitted to express a hope that as the sites are uncovered perfect plans and drawings will be taken of everything, and an accurate description of what is found made, and that each site will then be covered up again before the frost gets to the masonry and destroys it. I do not know a more pitiful sight than the Roman mosaic at Bignor presents. Most probably we shall settle for once and all what Silchester was and what its name was.

I have said that arrangements have been made not only for commencing the excavation at once, but for proceeding with them in the summer. I am sure the Committee which has been formed for the purpose will welcome the assistance of any Members of this Institute and of the two Societies who may wish to take part in this. They will at all events learn something to aid them in the excavations they may hereafter make nearer at home.

I will now turn to a very different subject, though it, too, in a sense, is in the same connection. Most of us here present will have heard, and some of us will have seen the most extraordinary collection of archiepiscopal vestments which were found in a tomb at Canterbury, which I now think is sufficiently identified as that of Archbishop Hubert Walter. On opening what was believed to be a cenotaph the authorities discovered the remains of an

Archbishop in full dress and undisturbed. One of two courses remained, either to close the tomb at once, or to do what the authorities did, to reverently remove the vestments for preservation. I think in a learned society like this we can have no hesitation in saying that in the circumstances the authorities adopted the right course.

The Archbishop was dressed with a mitre on his head with a crozier by his side, portions of the chasuble, amice and stole were found. The fastenings of his pall were there, and sufficient of the pall to prove its existence. He had long stockings or buskins of silk, and slippers of the same material. He had a ring on his finger and a paten and chalice by his side. The only regret I feel is that he was not photographed immediately on discovery.

The whole of these interesting antiquities have been lent by the authorities to the Society of Antiquaries of London, and it is the intention of the society to illustrate the whole of these vestments in a part of the *Vetusta Monumenta*, and I hope to compare them with similar vestments which are in existence.

Hubert Walter was Archbishop of Canterbury during the reign of King Richard I. and King John, and died in 1205, nearly at the time when King John lost his Norman possessions. He had been a personal friend of and companion of King Richard to the Holy Land, and had negotiated his ransom. During his reign he occupied a position in England, during the King's absence in Normandy, similar to that now occupied by the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. He was, therefore, in addition to his high ecclesiastical rank, a person of very high position, and at all events he possessed this merit, that none of the turmoils which marked the archiepiscopates of his predecessor and successors took place in his time. He was succeeded as Justiciar by Geoffrey FitzPeter, and the extent to which the two restrained King John may be gathered from the King's remark on the death of the latter—"When he arrives in hell," said the King, "he may go and salute Hubert Walter, for, by the feet of God, now for the first time am I King and Lord of England."—Stubbs's *Const. Hist.*, vol. i, p. 591. But here again I am touching on historical ground.

One thing that interested me much was the extent to

which, even in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, we drew upon other countries for our supplies. As I have said, the whole of the dress of the Archbishop was of silk with some portions of cloth of gold. The silk, of course, is a foreign product, and the ornamentation of some of it seemed to me to be of foreign, probably Byzantine, workmanship. The slippers of embroidered silk were ornamented with carbuncles and amethysts, neither of them English products. The pall was, I suppose, made of Italian wool. The crozier staff of cedar wood.

Upon the Archbishop's finger was a ring, the stone of which, a hard green stone, is engraved with a gnostic emblem, a serpent with a fiery head with the word "Knuphis" written under it, most probably brought by himself from the Levant. Other engraved stones were upon the top of his crozier. The border of the chasuble is of cloth of gold, beautifully embroidered with a design which seems to me to be Byzantine, but at all events not of English manufacture. I do not know that I ought to have been, but I was surprised to find the whole of the Archbishop's dress of silk.

This brings me to another class of Antiquities from Canterbury which was exhibited at the same time at the Society of Antiquaries, namely, a large collection of pieces of silk which had been the envelopes of royal letters. It appears that in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries it was the habit for the kings, in sending letters to the monastery, to enclose their epistles in pieces of silk. These pieces are all of them oriental, and one of them has a most unmistakable Chinese head upon it. It would seem from this that in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries silk was imported from China to Europe and found its way to England. It seemed to me that the silk in which the Archbishop was dressed was either Indian or Chinese, it looks very much like the silk which comes from India to England and is called Tussa silk. This is still the practice with the Sultans of Turkey. The firman, for the Turkish loans came to London in a bag of Crimson silk, probably a relic of a Byzantine custom. It is to be hoped that now the subject is under discussion it will be thoroughly exhausted.

With regard to the Archbishop's monument there is

still a good deal to be said, and I feel sure that the able hands to which the whole matter has been entrusted, will not allow it to be dropped until all that can be said has been. Most probably the Archbishop's monument was made by his executor, and this consideration will probably lead to the fixing of the name of the person by whom it was erected. The following memorandum which is written by my friend, Mr. F. J. Baigent, of Winchester, a real antiquary, leaves, I think, no doubt, that Elias de Derham was the Archbishop's executor, and our knowledge of him will, I think, leave still less doubt as to the origin of the beautiful monument:—

“You are quite correct as to my having mentioned to you that Elias de Derham (or Dereham, as it is sometimes spelt) was one of the executors of the Archbishop's will. His acting executors were James de Sauvage, or Salvage, who was one of his chaplains and rector of Wrotham in Kent; and Master Elias de Derham, rector of Melton Mowbray, canon of Sarum, &c. The Archbishop died 13th July, 1205, and the King appears to have gone down to Canterbury at once, probably to attend the funeral, where he arrived on Friday 15th July, and remained until the 20th, on which day exequies of the octave of the Archbishop's death were, as usual, solemnly kept.

“On the 13th August—the day of ‘the month's mind’—the King caused a closed letter to be written to Reginald de Cornhille, sheriff of the county of Kent, on behalf of James Salvage and Master Elyas de Derham, to wit, that he should deliver to them all the chattels of the wardships (de wardes) which the Archbishop possessed, in the Sheriff's bailiwick, on the day which he died, &c. (*Close Roll 7 John m. 7.*) This was done because they claimed them as the Archbishop's executors. On the 2nd January, 1205-6, there was issued a Royal Mandate—Rex, &c. Jacobo Salvagio et Magistro E[lie] de Derham, &c., executoribus testamenti domini H[uberti] Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi, &c., Mandamus vobis quod omni occasione et dilacione postpositis faciatis habere domino P[etro] Wintoniensi per manus W[illelmi] de Wrotham] Archidiacono Tantonie et W[illelmi] de Cornhulle centum libras quas predictus H[ubertus] quondam Cantuariensis Archiepiscopus habuit die qua

obiit de pecunia S[avarici] quondam Bathoniensis Episcopi, pro centum libris quas prefatus P[etrus] Winttoniensis Episcopus habere fecit de prestito, per plegium suum eidem S[avarico] Bathoniensi Episcopo habere faciatis H[ugoni] Archidiacono Wellensi et W[illelmo] Archidiacono Tantonienti, custodibus Episcopatus Bathoniensis ad quietanda debita predicti S[avarici] Episcopi. Teste me ipso apud Clarendonam ij [die Januarii. *Close Roll 7 John, membrane 6.*

“On the 4th April, 1206, the King ordered the following letters patent to be issued, which further illustrates the fact of their being the Archbishop's executors:—Rex Jacobo Salvagio et Magistro Elye de Derham, salutem. Mandamus vobis quod liberetis Reginaldo de Cornhille, mille et centum marcas de fine quem nobiscum fecistis, pro debitis domini H[uberti] quondam Archiepiscopi Cantuariensis. Et in hujus rei testimonium, has litteras nostras patentes vobis mittimus. Teste me ipso apud Dove, iiij. die Aprilis. *Patent Roll 7 John m. 5.,*

“I think I have given what is quite sufficient to show that when I mentioned the circumstance that this eminent architect was executor to Archbishop Hubert, and that I was inclined to attribute to him the design of that interesting tomb from his close association with the Archbishop and in the winding up of his affairs, I was not speaking at random. And if what I have written proves of interest to you and is satisfactory, I shall feel much gratified to think that I mentioned it to you, and that you have honoured me by asking for further information and taking an interest in it.”

The whole of the articles found in the tomb were collected and cleaned by a person known I dare say to some of you, but to whom we Antiquaries ought to be very much indebted—I mean Dr, Sheppard, of Canterbury. I do not know how far I am at liberty to talk about what I see at the charming visits which I from time to time pay him.

Nothing can be more interesting than a visit to his sanctum (an inner library) in the Cathedral where he is. The unrivalled collection of letters, some dated in the twelfth and thirteen centuries, in his custody is most interesting.

Upon the last occasion of a visit there Dr. Sheppard showed me a document which I hope he will some day describe. I shall only here hint at it. It was a record of a Prior who was in the fifteenth century being instructed in Greek by a Greek who had come from Constantinople after the taking of the town by the Turks. In sorting the records, Dr. Sheppard found some of the original lessons in Greek given by this Greek master to his reverend pupil, and also other Greek fragments which must have been brought over at the same time.

Whether anything of great value will be found among these is another matter, but the story is interesting, and to find traces of these early Greek lessons still more so.

The only thing which I can compare with it is a small fragment which used to be preserved in Winchester Cathedral Library. It was a page of a writing lesson which a nephew of the Dean was having at the hands of one of the notaries of the Cathedral at the time when the town was about to be occupied by the Parliamentary troops in the Great Rebellion. The writing lesson came to an end together with the notary and other things. But this again begins to savour of history. I wish there was a Dr. Sheppard in every Cathedral library; I hope there is one at Gloucester.

The subject of records is one in which I am especially interested, though more from an historical point of view than looking at them in the light of simple antiquities. Moreover the records in which I am interested are of but a low sort—parish registers, churchwardens' accounts, and vestry minute-books, and such like things.

In this connection some of you are no doubt aware that a special report has been made by a Select Committee of Antiquaries upon the best methods of preservation and publication of parochial registers and other parochial records. To my mind valuable as parish registers are they are the least interesting of all parochial records.

They are interesting only for particular purposes, and are not to my mind of the same general interest as other parochial books, the vestry minute-books and account books. The vestry minute-books of a parish, taken with the registers, may of course be specially interesting, particularly in the case of a large town. When the three sets

of books exist together it is possible, as I think I have succeeded in showing in one or two parishes in the City of London, to form a directory of the parish at any particular period. Besides this one can ascertain by this means what part of the parish was healthy and what unhealthy, particularly in the times of plague.

The whole of the period between 1560 and 1665 was subject to violent outbreaks of plague, and as it is just during this period that the parish books were most accurately kept, it is not unlikely that some useful information may be derived from their study.

Plagues and similar visitations follow the same laws, and the parishes which were most severely visited in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries with plague are the same which were most severely visited in this century with cholera.

The three sets of books together give also a most complete insight into parochial life during the above-named period.

Our parish records in the City of London are now pretty well known, and sufficient interest has been aroused in them to insure their preservation. From the fact that I sometimes see portions of the records of country parishes for sale in the various catalogues of books that are sent me, I am afraid that the same does not altogether hold good in the country. The way in which this happens is somewhat as follows. The clergyman, a bachelor, for safety's sake keeps the records in his own rectory. When he dies, his executors, whose duty it is to realize his effects, sell everything they find, and so it happens that in this way parochial property sometimes gets dispersed. I do not think the property is lost during the lifetime of the clergyman, but it does get dispersed on his death. This shows how undesirable it is for a clergyman to keep parochial property, even for safe custody, in his house. The same cause also operated in a measure with another species of interesting parochial records, I mean monumental brasses. I suppose, most of us who have been interested in brass rubbing can tell of how they have found a brass which had got detached from its matrix kept for safe custody in the rectory. But to return to the records. It seems to me that the

duty of looking after these records is essentially the work of a local society. A Society like this, or a Society like the Society of Antiquaries, can have very little power in the preservation of country parish records, but the local knowledge possessed by the secretaries and members of local societies ought to give them a very great advantage in doing this. I hope it will not be considered out of place if I press this upon the attention of gentlemen present, particularly those who are members of the Gloucester and Bristol Archaeological Society. I know very little of the records of Gloucester, but I am quite sure in a city so ancient and so important there must be found in the ecclesiastical, municipal, and parochial archives a large number of very valuable records interesting both for preservation and for publication.

To begin with, there are the Bishops' registers, which are always important and valuable documents. Some day we may hope to see all the Bishop's registers generally printed in the same way as those at Exeter have been. Not only are the registers interesting in themselves, but they throw light upon all sorts of matters of antiquarian interest.

I remember an instance of this. There is a curious little church near where I live, in Surrey, which tradition points out as the church in which the first reformed Prayer-book of King Edward VI. was first used.

It is a little out-of-the-way church in the Surrey downs, about five miles due south of Croydon. Croydon was Archbishop Cranmer's country residence. Warlingham, the little church to which I allude, was in the Diocese of Winchester. The tradition is that Archbishop Cranmer, wishing to see how the service would go off, had a full rehearsal in Warlingham Church.

But how could this be Warlingham, being in the Diocese of Winchester? Stephen Gardener, Bishop of Winchester, was at that time in suspense for not accommodating himself to the new state of things, and the Bishops' register showed that the living of Warlingham was then vacant. I do not mean to say that this carried us very far on our journey, but as far as it went it showed that there was nothing in the state of things in opposition to the tradition.

With regard to municipal records a calendar might be printed of the most important of them, and that at little cost, similar to the calendar made of the documents at Winchester. I understand there is a most excellent calendar of the documents here.

I admit that the cost of printing records makes their publication a formidable undertaking. If however, the funds of a local society do not admit of the publication of records, still a local society may do a great deal by making a calendar of them. For instance, there ought to be no great difficulty to make a calendar descriptive of the registers and parochial books in each parish in a given county. The preparation and printing of such a document ought not to be either difficult or costly. To a certain extent it might be extracted from county histories and from the publications of the local societies. This is a work which all could help in. When such a calendar has been made it might be checked from time to time, and there would in this way be a check upon the gradual loss which perhaps unavoidably takes place in these documents.

In addition to these records, I presume that every diocese possesses a collection of wills which is worth calendaring. I am not sure that I have any great sympathy with wills, partly from prejudice, but the recent publication by Dr. Sharpe, of the Calendar of Wills, registered in the Court of Hustings, of the city of London, has made me rather change my mind. Certain it is that you occasionally get charming little particulars of the manner and customs of the times. I take leave to illustrate this by an extract from a register of wills kept in my own parish of St. Christopher le Stocks. There is among the number a will in the fifteenth century, whereby one John Plonket gave certain lands to endow an obit. I was not aware that the customs of the city of London necessitated any particular formula in the execution of a will with such a provision, but from the extract I am about to give it would seem that this was the case. At the end of John Plonket's will there is the following note :—

“This testament of John plonket Shereman of the lands and tenements for the sowle of John Gedney etc. to Mortuary vse as bequethed was sealid by the same John

plonket the xiiijth daie of the moneth of february In the yere of our Lorde god m° c c c lxxxij And in the first yere of the Reign of King Richard the thirde (that ys to say) on the day of saint Valentine the martir bitwene the houres of fyve and sixe of the Clok at aftir noone of the same daie within the Chirche of saint Christofer within wretyn in the north ysle of the same chirche with a seale of laten gilted graven with a lef callid a trefoyle The same John plonket than amongs other standyng in the same north Isle of the said chirche wering than a gowne of wollen cloth of Russet colour and a blak hat on his hed, with a blak typpet of wollen cloth about his neck than and there being present the worshipfull man Mr. William Stokker knight and the discret personnes William Holme Thomas Rerisby James Wellys, Drapers, Richard Eryk, vpholder, Reynold Rutter John Croke thoinger, Roger Acheley, Drapers, Robert Eyrk, ffelmonger, John Ginswell and John fforster witnessies on to the premissies callid and specially Required.”

Up to this time I have been speaking exclusively of matters in England, but I must be permitted to say a few words about foreign countries, and as I am speaking about records I will begin by speaking about foreign records.

I wish to mention a field which has not been, as far as I know, much explored, but which contains abundant materials for future Antiquaries—I mean the records of the Cathedrals in Spain. The Spanish clergy are always willing to show strangers their libraries and muniment rooms, and nothing is more distressing than to see the complete manner in which the records of their properties were kept, in many cases the completeness of the records, and then to remember that the whole of the property has been confiscated. At one of the out-of-the-way cathedrals on the borders of Aragon and Castile I came across a record which is of great interest to an Englishman and reminds him of the intimate relations which existed in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries between this country and Spain. In visiting the cathedral of Siguenza last autumn, which is of itself a building of great interest, I learnt from Murray's *Handbook* that there had been a chapel in the cathedral dedicated to St. Thomas of Canterbury. On inquiring from the Canon in residence I found that not

only was this the case, but that they had in the cathedral a contemporary account of the murder of Thomas Becket, which he believed had been presented to the cathedral by a Bishop named Jocelin. The Canon did not know who Bishop Jocelin was, or the manner in which he happened at Siguenza, but the date was 1208.

The following seems to be the history :—Eleanor, or as she is called in Spain, Leonora, one of the daughters of King Henry II. of England, married Alonzo, King of Castile. Jocelin, Bishop of Bath, had been a friend of King Richard, her brother, and was in the confidence of King John. King John promoted him to the Bishopric of Bath. In the quarrel which the King had with the monks of Canterbury the Pope put the kingdom under an interdict. One of the Bishops who had to publish this was Jocelin. Having published it, he ran away, and went first to Bordeaux and afterwards to the King's sister, Eleanor, at Burgos, and accompanied her and her husband to Siguenza when the cathedral was dedicated. He took the opportunity of leaving there a record of Thomas Becket's murder, which is still preserved in the cathedral archives. The Canon told me that he intended to publish this document, and I told him I would assist him if he wished ; but by 1208 the account of Thomas Becket's murder must have been stereotyped, and so that but for the interest of the thing I do not expect any new light would be thrown upon the transaction by its publication. In passing you will not forget that this Bishop Jocelin was a contemporary and friend of Archbishop Hubert Walter, of whom we have spoken of already. There are other churches and chapels in Castile dedicated to Thomas Becket, and no doubt an investigation of each case would produce a history as interesting as that I have just told, but here again I am treading on the limits.

In a little tumble-down, out-of-the-way town, between Seville and Huelva, at the south-west corner of Spain, named Niebla, on the Rio Tinto, a town both in its present and past circumstances not unlike Winchelsea, I found an interesting series of records consisting of the charters granted to the town in the thirteenth century by Alonzo el Sabio, the son of San Fernando, and contemporary and friend of our King Edward I.

These charters are in Spanish, and reminded me of the observation made by the Bishop of Oxford in one of his lectures on mediæval history, to the effect that the English in negotiating a treaty with the Spaniards found that the Spanish diplomatists were unacquainted with any other language than their own, and the treaties which the English diplomatists had prepared in Latin had to be translated for the benefit of their Spanish colleagues into their own language.

It is interesting to observe that in one of these charters the Mohammedan Kings of Granada and Murcia, who were parties to the documents, are spoken of as vassals of the King of Spain—Rey de Granada, Vassallo del Rey, Rey de Murcia, Vassallo del Rey.

As we are now abroad I wish to turn to quite a different subject and country.

Some of you may have heard of the British School at Athens. I am going to speak of a portion only of its work—naturally that portion which is interesting to me. This institution has been doing a quiet and unostentatious but extremely valuable work for an Ecclesiastical Antiquary.

Young students at the school have been visiting the interesting churches scattered throughout the northern part of Greece and the Morea, and have been making very careful studies of them. These churches are of course in the highest sense interesting to the students of Oriental ecclesiology; they have never, as far as I know, been properly examined, much less illustrated. In some of the out-of-the-way Greek churches and monasteries, out of the way of the Turk, internal decorations and articles of furniture which cannot be found in any other part of the Levant are preserved.

The study of Oriental ecclesiology has been a plant of slow growth, but it has made some progress since the time when I, a lad, first visited those countries and was taken with it. Up to that time there was some general information, but Dr. Mason Neale's book upon the Orthodox Church of the East had not been written, and English students were dependent upon authorities who viewed the subject through Western spectacles.

The first great sympathetic writer was Dr. Mason Neale,

and he has been followed in that part of his book which treats upon the Ecclesiastical Antiquities by various publications, principally French and German. Among these may be mentioned Count de Vogue's beautiful books on Palestine and Syria, and the magnificent German publication of Saltzenberg. This book gives plans and elevations of a few of the Christian buildings still remaining in Constantinople, but its main object was to describe the church of Aghia Sofia. Of the other Greek churches remaining in the town the writer does not mention more than six. To these have now to be added at least thirty. Some of these have been described by an Austrian architect, named D. Pulger, but by far the greatest authority upon the subject is my friend, Dr. Paspatis, the greatest Byzantine Antiquary living the world has.

One of the most interesting features in a Greek church is the picture-screen, or ikonostasis. This screen, which is a picturesque feature in every Oriental church, discharges an important function.

Its position is exactly that of the chancel rails of an English church, only an Oriental church invariably terminates in three apses, and this screen divides the apses from the body of the church. The three apses and the ikonostasis are intimately connected with every action in an Oriental Liturgy. The ikonostasis is one of the first things which strikes a western visitor in an Oriental church, and directs his attention to the difference between an Oriental and a Western Liturgy. This screen reaches to the vaulting of the church. To show how little is known upon the subject of this piece of ecclesiastical furniture, I remember the late Dr. Stanley, the Dean of Westminster, on his return from Russia, informing me that he had been told there that the height of the ikonostasis was increased on each occasion of the Russians winning a province until it reached the present height. No doubt he had learned this from some high ecclesiastical authority in Russia, nevertheless it is not the fact. Since then the subject of Ecclesiastical Antiquities has been more studied in Russia, and a magnificent work upon the churches of Kieff has been published by the St. Petersburg Society of Antiquaries.

Among the discoveries recently made in Greece are two

perfect specimens of the picture-screens in the church of St. Luke at Stiri. These picture-screens must be, I think, of the ninth or tenth century, and the discovery of them is of the highest interest. As I have explained on various occasions at the Society of Antiquaries, I was fortunate enough to discover what I believe to be a portion of the screen of the Church of Aghia Sofia at Constantinople, and a considerable portion of the screen of a church now called the Mosque of the Callenders in the same city. I also identified two small portions of other screens, one in the Church of the Mone tes Choras, the Monastery in the Fields, and another in the Church of the Pantocrator, all at Constantinople. There is also a very small portion of the screen left in the Church of St. Sospiter at Corfu, sufficient to show that it was made, or at all events ornamented, with slabs of coloured marble. I think that these specimens together would enable one to reproduce to some extent what the general form and ornamentation of a picture-screen in a Greek church about the tenth century must have been. The screens in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were made of carved wood; there are many specimens of these remaining at Smyrna and throughout the Levant. The modern screens are generally made in imitation of classic designs.

The subject of this particular ornament of Greek ritual is one that is worthy of a great deal of study. There is no doubt that it was always intended as a screen to shut off the sanctuary from the rest of the building, answering to the altar rails in an English church. From the account given of the Church of the Apostles built by the Emperor Justinian at Constantinople, the altar was under the centre dome of the building, which was not unlike St. Mark's at Venice in shape. There was a screen which enclosed the altar in what was then and is still called the *Ιερατεϊον*, or sanctuary. Professor Hayter Lewis told me that he had visited a few days since, just outside the Damascus Gate of Jerusalem, a church which was being excavated by some Americans. In this church he found the traces of a screen enclosing the eastern apse of the church. In this case the church had only one apse. This fixes the date of the building as being not later than the reign of the

Emperor Justinian; had it been later the church would have had three apses.

Unfortunately the energies of antiquaries in the east, when they have used them on excavation, have generally been addressed to uncovering classic temples; but there are three buildings which, if treated in this way, would I think give us some valuable information upon the subject of which I am speaking. In the first place there is the ruined Church of St. John at Ephesus, which I myself on one occasion tried to operate on with this particular object, but failed through the jealousy of the Greek population. There is another church, opposite Laodicea in Hierapolis, which, from its proximity to the line of the Ottoman railway, can without difficulty be investigated, and a still more distant church on the same railway, at Dineir, the ancient Apamea. These two latter churches have never been used by the Mohammedans as mosques, but were destroyed partly by time and partly by earthquake, so I should expect to find some sufficient traces of the screen in each of them. It is not unlikely that a similar discovery would be made in the church at Ephesus. This would be the most interesting of the three. The Church of St. John at Ephesus was built in imitation of the Church of the Apostles at Constantinople. The altar no doubt stood under the central dome, and most probably sufficient would be found of it to show what the arrangements of the screen round the sanctuary was like. At all events the British School at Athens have made the first start. I should like to think that I should be able to follow up the investigation; I am afraid I must content myself by showing what has been done, and how one of the most interesting and one of the least known objects of ecclesiastical furniture in the east can be investigated.

Two gentlemen from the school are now about to visit Salonica and Mount Athos. At the former they will find abundant material to interest them. I do not think they will find any traces of the ikonostasis in any of the churches, but there are five marble reading-desks or ambones of different forms now lying in the courtyards of the churches and mosques to which they belonged. As far as I know only one of these has ever been drawn, though I have photographs of all of them. I am afraid

that the demon of restoration has penetrated even to Mount Athos, and I do not expect they will find many remains in the direction in which I have been speaking, but they will find other deeply interesting details, and these monasteries, though often visited by English, have never yet been examined by a skilled architect or indeed at all satisfactorily. I hope that the funds of the society will enable it to publish the result of these researches.

I do not like to leave Greece without mentioning another great discovery which has recently been made. In the Plain of Marathon there is a large mound; tradition pointed this out as the site of the burial-place of the Greeks who fell at the celebrated battle, but the discovery some forty years ago of stone arrow heads in the mound, decided antiquaries that this monument belonged to an earlier age and was existing at the time of the battle.

Within the last few weeks the mound has been fully examined, and tradition has, as it generally does, vindicated itself. In the middle of the mound were found a series of interments which have gone far to establish the fact that this is the tomb of the Greeks who perished in that battle. The investigations are still being continued, but I have no doubt they will satisfactorily prove the truth of the tradition, and the history of the battle will again have to be written. Recent historians have assumed that the mound was existing at the time of the battle, and have accordingly shifted the position of it.

While speaking of foreign matters it would not be right not to mention the efforts that have been made to stop the destruction of antiquities in Egypt. Unfortunately England seems to me to be behind other nations in the protection of objects of antiquity. We never have succeeded in protecting them in our own country, and from what I hear it seems doubtful if we have been or shall be able to protect them in India, and it is hardly probable we shall be more successful in Egypt. Something however the Society of Antiquaries has been doing in this direction, and it may be hoped that at all events we shall leave the antiquities of Egypt, if and when we do vacate that country, in no worse condition than we found them. This is, I think, saying a good deal, for wherever the English go, and there is safety for travellers, there must

follow a certain class of English-speaking persons who do not like not to leave some remembrance of them behind. Either they will cut their names, and this is the most harmless, or they will carry off souvenirs, which is worse. Any one who knows Bishop Fox's monument in Winchester Cathedral can, as I can, testify to the destruction that our own folk and our American cousins every year cause in the carved work which ornaments it.

The preservation of antiquities brings me to mention our own. I am bold enough now to say a few words about the preservation of ancient monuments in England. In a crowded country such as this is antiquities must be constantly destroyed, there is no help for it. The cultivation of the ground destroys old roads, earth-works and sepulchral mounds.

With regard to churches it must never be forgotten that the Church of England is a going concern, and churches must be kept up and enlarged. It has always been so. It is no doubt very much to be regretted that the nineteenth century has no style of architecture of its own, and apparently has no means of making one. The consequence is we must content ourselves with copying some older style for church building. This also leads to the attempt to restore, but this cannot be helped. The Church of England cannot stand still to suit the wishes of us antiquaries. The utmost we can hope to do is to improve the taste of those to whom the care of a church is entrusted. But this is very uphill work, and the more distinguished the architect is the less is he tolerant of interference. I commend to your notice the chapel of Winchester College and the church of St. Cross, near the same city, as examples of how an ecclesiastical building should not be treated; and yet the architect who carried out these works is a man of the highest position and ability, but no great lover of antiquities.

Secular objects of antiquity, unless they can be made useful, generally get improved away altogether. When I first remember, a great portion of the wall of the City of London could be seen; now I only know of three small portions. The most important secular buildings belong to municipal authorities, and these are not generally good antiquaries, and it is very little that we can do to

preserve a record of it. It can be photographed, drawn and measured—this is the next best thing to being able to preserve the original.

I hear with pleasure that the municipal authorities at Leeds have consulted our good friend Mr. Micklethwaite about the preserving of Kirkstall Abbey. They have already had a most excellent report from another friend of ours, Mr. St. John Hope, the learned and at the same time most obliging assistant secretary of the Society of Antiquaries of London. They could not have done better than consult these two. Only I hope Mr. Micklethwaite will recommend it to be repaired and utilized as the cathedral of the town. It is many years since I saw it, forty I think, but it looked then as if it might have been repaired. I am very sceptical about the preservation of ruins, except they be Roman, in which case their durability enables them to preserve themselves. Ruins must go, particularly gothic ruins. I believe an Indian proverb says that an arch never is at rest. All we can hope to do is to keep an accurate account of them by excavation, measurements, and drawing, and by a liberal use of photography.

As a rule local societies discharge their duty with regard to ancient monuments in a satisfactory manner, and I have no doubt the Societies of Gloucester and Bristol are no exceptions. I only hope that when a building is doomed they will have an accurate record kept of it.

And now I wish to touch on another subject which especially interests me. How can we all be Antiquaries? I see here educated people of all sorts, some of them real Antiquaries, some of them only taking the subject up, as I do, as a pastime, and some others are here only like the men of Athens—curious to hear some new thing. To the two former classes I need say nothing, to the latter I would say with the Roman poet, though in a very different connexion—“*Macte virtute puer.*”

The real way to become an antiquary is to follow up that subject which comes to a man's hand. We all of us live in a town or village, and most of us have a profession or business. There is no town or village in England that has not its own history; there is no trade or business a man follows that cannot teach the person who follows it some-

thing of history and its own antiquity. Let each man take that which comes to his hand, and he will soon find how far reaching is the study of antiquities in his own person.

I may perhaps introduce some of my personal experiences. Circumstances in my youth took me to the Levant, and my first lessons in antiquarian studies were there. These were my first and consequently my most agreeable studies, and whenever I can, I revert to them. When I came to my own business it was not unnatural that the antiquities of my own profession should occupy some part of my thoughts. The subject is not an inviting one, but, nevertheless, it has a very curious interest of its own.

In time I became a churchwarden of a city parish. I had no fancy for this post, and parochial matters were distasteful to me, but it fell out in the way of business, and those who know my life for the last twenty years know how completely I have thrown in my lot with my enforced position, and how much instruction, pleasure, and satisfaction I have derived from it. As I walk through the parish in which my place of business is, I know every inhabitant in it from the middle of the sixteenth century and where he lived and what he did.

In the course of events I became a member of, and ultimately master of, the Worshipful Company of Scriveners of the City of London. This Company is the College of Notaries of London, and as you may imagine, when I was able to do so, I examined their records and found among them a complete list of the city notaries and of their notarial marks from the reign of King Edward II. to the present time, and a very interesting record it is.

But whenever leisure comes to me I go back to my first love. I never could have believed that I could have interested myself in parochial and municipal records; but they came to my hand, and they have interested and engrossed my attention more than I could have expected or believed.

I would therefore urge upon all my friends here, and particularly those who are commencing the study of antiquities, to take up that subject which comes across them in their daily path, and I would like to wind this address up with another personal experience. I live in Surrey, at

the top of the North Downs. One day while I was churning this address in my mind I went for a walk over Walton Heath. Any Surrey person knows this as the finest heath in Mid-Surrey. In the middle of the heath is a Roman summer camp, with the colonel's house adjoining it. Somehow my steps naturally took me there. It was an out-of-the-way part of the heath, and I had something of a scramble to find my way home.

As I walked across the heath I thought of how there are antiquities worthy of study in every man's path if he would only look for them, and I determined in my address to impress it on you here to-day. Almost as it were in fulfilment of my own idea, in the middle of the heath I came suddenly upon the traces of an ancient Roman way which I knew must be there, which I had long looked for and always missed; and as I looked along it, and traced the faint remains of it covered with heather, the thought came doubly strong upon me—there are abundant opportunities for the study of antiquities in the path of everyday life which is before you if you will only keep your eyes open and avail yourself of them.

I have only one more word. I have made this address personal to give encouragement to others who, like myself, have very few, if any, really leisure hours. If I with so little leisure have found so much instruction and real pleasure from the study, what may not others of you get from it who have more time at your disposal than I have?

TEWKESBURY ABBEY CHURCH.¹

By ALBERT HARTSHORNE, F.S.A.

Within a circle of about twenty-five miles in diameter we have in this well favoured district six religious foundations of great size and importance:—Worcester, Gloucester, Pershore, Evesham, Malvern and Tewkesbury.² We have now arrived at the one which, in some respects, surpasses all of them. Not, indeed, in size, but in the exceeding solemnity of the interior, the majesty of the vaults, the richness of the tombs, the brilliancy of the glass, and the very striking Norman arrangement of the plan.

At Tewkesbury we have a plan which, in the main, retains the general features of a great Romanesque church, for we have the Norman nave, aisles, and transepts, in their original inception; and, inasmuch as the piers of the choir are also Norman, it is obvious that it was, as at present, surrounded by an aisle; consequently the only difference between the plan of the Romanesque church in its entirety, and the plan as we now see it, is such as has arisen from alterations in the size of the choir aisles, or ambulatory, and the addition of the chapels forming the *chevet*. The Lady chapel has been removed, but the general arrangement may be compared with the much larger church of Westminster where we have this peculiarly French plan. We are not called upon here to show how a large monastic church grew from a small one, but we shall eventually see, as we run through its history, how a large church grew into a larger.

¹ Read at Tewkesbury, August 13th, 1890.

² See The Abbey Church of Tewkesbury, by J. L. Petit, 1848.

Now, first as to documentary evidence; this is very limited, but we have two records:—The *Annals of Tewkesbury*, written about the middle of the thirteenth century, purports to give an account for each year of affairs connected with, or affecting the monastery. It begins with the Conquest (1066), and breaks off in 1263. But unfortunately, in its whole course, little light is thrown upon the church and monastery. The other record is the *Tewkesbury Register* which appears to be a copy of an earlier one, and written about 1545. This has value, and contains a summary of the foundation, as well as biographical notices of the Earls of Gloucester, and patrons of the abbey.

As to the architectural history of the church it is said that “Dudda” first founded a monastery here in 715, in conjunction with Odda. It is difficult to get at the exact truth, but Odda died in 1056, and both the *Annals* and the *Register* have mixed up, apparently, two periods and two persons. However, it is not of much importance now because there is nothing visible at Tewkesbury as early as 1056, and we are specially concerned only with what we can see.

From Mr. Blunt’s excellent work on Tewkesbury Abbey we gather that the first church must have been of very slight importance, and by the latter part of the tenth century it had become a cell to the monastery of Cranbourn in Dorsetshire. In 1083, when Cranbourn passed into the King’s hands, Abbot Gerald set about a re-construction of the Tewkesbury establishment.

Three years later, in 1087, Rufus granted the Honour of Gloucester, which included the Lordship of Tewkesbury, and the patronage of the monastery, to Fitz Hamon. There can be no doubt that now began the great work, and that the foundations of a church of the usual Norman type were laid, or decided upon. This plan consisted of a nave, aisles, central tower, transepts with semicircular apses, and an apsidal choir, not round, as at Peterborough, but polygonal, a form necessitated by the width of the pier arches, and in order to avoid that very unpleasing feature, the double curvature of the lines of the arch. All this we can see at the present day, and no doubt the Romanesque plan, with its characteristic long nave, was

completed by a north transept apse, and choir aisles or ambulatory running with the lines of the choir, and from which, perhaps, branched out other semicircular apses, which are now represented, to a certain extent, by the present chapels at the east end. It was a great undertaking which must have progressed slowly. The beginning of it is put down at 1102, by the *Annals*, and this date is important and seems to agree with the character of the work, which is very plain throughout.

Fitz Hamon was slain at Falaise in 1107 and could therefore hardly have seen the completion of any part of his great church. His remains were temporarily laid in the Chapter House, probably of the old monastic buildings.

Robert Consul, Earl of Gloucester, a great man, and a great builder, who set his mark upon the Walls of Cardiff Castle, and who had married Mabel eldest daughter of Fitz Hamon, carried on the work, and in 1123, according to the *Annals*, the church was consecrated. It is improbable—impossible—that the whole church from the east end to the west front was finished at this early date, indeed, there are indications at the west end of a change in the plan at that part. It would be the choir, the *ecclesia* proper, that was consecrated in 1123; but the plainness of the Norman work throughout is noticeable, as is also the great height of the nave's piers, as well as the remarkable smallness of the triforium, usually a considerable feature of a Norman church. The triforiums of Ely and Waltham are notable examples which occur to the mind. The great plainness of large Romanesque churches seems to imply, as Mr. Petit has pointed out, that simplicity and grandeur of design in abbey or cathedral superseded elaborate workmanship such as one finds in the parish church. Here, as at Ely, the same plainness of Norman was adhered to as the work progressed towards the west end.

The current of these observations has brought us to that very remarkable composition, the west front. With its unique arch it is still but a portion of a larger design the full consideration of which might induce a careful scrutiny of the composition of a great Romanesque church, not only in England and Normandy but

also in Germany. To put the matter in a few words, it seems that the architect of Tewkesbury, perhaps the second architect, found himself at first bound, by the original plans, to carry out a design which included not only a great central tower, but also two western ones. There are indications that western towers were contemplated, and Professor Willis has shown that this was the case at Winchester; and it will be borne in mind that the grouping of towers received much attention in Norman times. For some reason it was found necessary to abandon this scheme, and we may not much regret it because, while the change has left us a noble recessed Norman archway, it has also produced two elegant western turrets which, although their extreme upper portions are of modern date, group most admirably with the central tower, itself as Mr. Petit truly said "one of the grandest ever designed in the Romanesque period;" it is certainly the finest Norman tower in England. Perhaps it is to the adaptation of this peculiar outline at the west end, and the consequent saving of funds, that we owe the increased height of the central tower, of which the upper stages exhibit a composition and details that carry us to the verge of Norman proper. The pinnacles were put up in the seventeenth century, and have therefore a certain *romanesque* character which, for such inappropriate finishes of a Norman tower, harmonize well enough with the Romanesque of Norman times.

More particularly with regard to the west front, several theories have been advanced to explain what it was originally intended to be. One of these, which found some favour many years ago, was that it was originally designed to be a vast open entrance porch, or Galilee, with an inner wall through which a doorway would be pierced. The stone work, however, of the lower part of the west front, within the archway, has been more carefully examined in late years, and, a part of the modern casing outside having been taken down, conclusive evidence is given that the imposts of the great arch had seven shafts, the seventh stopping against a plain wall face with returning stones forming the angle, and giving the start to this wall. Within the church are evidences of the springings of the discharging arch of the Norman doorway, and no doubt the upper part of the great arch was pierced with a

series of small windows. But the joints of the nave walls, at the inner angles at the west end, do not hit those of the cross wall. This neither proves or disproves the question as to whether the great arch forms part of the first scheme or of the second; but probably of the first, if the plainness of the details are taken into account.

No excuse would be necessary for dwelling at length upon these Norman chapters, because, grand and imposing as the later work is, Tewkesbury would be nothing without its Norman work. Before leaving this topic it may be recalled that the three great arches of Remigius, at Lincoln's stern west-end, are three quarters of a century earlier, and the great striding arches of Peterborough, nearly a century later than that at Tewkesbury. They form a fine series for the study of persons who like wide arches. An astounding rumour has floated out from Northamptonshire that some wild people still have the wish, but fortunately not the funds, to extract from the central arch of Peterborough the little chapel that was planted into it in the fifteenth century.¹

It will be observed that all the Norman windows have been altered throughout the church; the barrel-vaulted porch, with the tympanum of the church doorway filled in with three tiers of joggled voussoirs, remains intact. In its original state the nave must have been lighted by a row of small round-headed windows—there are slight indications of them between the roof and the vaulting of the nave—as at St. Peter's, Northampton, with long splays for expanding and softening the light, and covered by an open timber roof, or barrel-vaulted in wood, or, as at Peterborough, flat-ceiled. Such wide spaces were not vaulted in stone so early in England. No doubt the nave aisles were vaulted, but in what precise way is, perhaps, not apparent. Mr. Petit, whose opinion will always be received with the utmost respect, and nowhere more so than at Tewkesbury, thought they took the quadrantal form, and there are suggestions of this in the shape of the arches leading from the nave

¹ This is a grotesque revival of an old cry which was denounced a hundred years ago by John Carter.—See Gentle-

man's Magazine, 1798, Part ii., pp. 764-765.

aisles into the transepts. The nave has evidently lost its fine Norman proportion by the intrusion of the 14th century vaulting, but the conspicuous quality of the church is still, as in Norman times, its breadth. The Norman had this in his mind when he carried the imposts of the tower arch straight through in a line with the nave piers, and rested the arches upon brackets, or on the caps of short columns engaged high up in the imposts, as in the south transept.

The inside of the tower, originally designed as a lantern, now masked by the vaulting, exhibits arcading on the north, east, and south sides; this was specially arranged for the eastern point of view.

Robert Consul, or Fitzroy, died in 1147, and it may be taken that the work of the Norman church up to, say, the porch, and including the lantern, the plain portion of the tower, were carried out before his death. Being succeeded by his son William Fitz Count, who lived till 1183, it may be to this man that we are indebted, as we have suggested, for the west front, and it must be to him that we owe the completion of the tower, with its three externally decorated stages. Thus, the plain and the decorated parts of the exterior of the tower correspond respectively with the ornamental and the simple masonry within.

Earl William was a great builder, and founded the Abbey of Keynsham, which has now entirely vanished. His third daughter Amice, married Richard De Clare, Earl of Hertford, whose son Gilbert, succeeding on the death of his father, came in, as lineal successor of Fitz Hamon, to the earldom of Gloucester, on the death of Almeric Devereux, fifth Earl, in 1221, thus uniting in his own person the earldoms of Gloucester and Hertford. He was the first De Clare buried at Tewkesbury; he died in 1230. His son Richard succeeded at an early age, and died in 1262. During his time the only Early English parts of the Abbey now remaining were built, namely, the chapel of St. Nicholas, north-east of the north transept. The Decorated chapel of St. James adjoins it, occupying the site of an apsidal Norman chapel.

We learn from the *Annals of Tewkesbury* that in 1232 many cures were effected by means of the Relics, and that in 1235 it was agreed that there should be a service, night

and morning, "de Reliquiis." The chapel called of St. Nicholas consists now of a chancel only; the south wall has been removed in Decorated times in order to connect it directly with the chapel of St. James, but the Early English arcading remaining round the north and east sides, show it to have been originally a chancel complete in itself. The chancel arch consists of a wide double entrance divided by a central column, after the manner of an entrance to a chapter house, as at Westminster and Wells, and hence, it seems, the name this building long bore of "Chapter House." The double entrance leads into a nave now destroyed, and of which the south wall was the north wall of the north transept of the great monastic church. This chancel and nave formed, in fact, a small church planted against the large one. It is not improbable that this was the church or chapel of the Relics, and that these venerated objects were exhibited in the chancel to the faithful assembled in the nave.

The building of this little church was the first addition of any importance to the Norman work, and it appears to be the only thing that was done during the eighty years sway of the four De Clares, whose male line ended in 1314 with Gilbert, slain at Bannockburn.

On the death of Gilbert De Clare his estates went to his three sisters, and Tewkesbury, as part of the Honour of Gloucester, to the eldest, Eleanor, who married in 1321 Hugh Despencer "the younger." He was slaughtered in 1326, and his widow married William la Zouche of Mortimer, and died in 1337.

Again, these dates are very important, because, between 1321 and 1359 the choir, the most Norman part of the church in its plan, was rebuilt from the Norman capitals upwards, including the aisles and the chapels, replacing whatever Norman work stood upon their sites; and a Lady chapel was also thrown out, of which a small part only remains to attest its magnificence. At the same time the vaulting of the choir was begun, and followed successively by that of the transepts, nave, and tower, all of which great works were carried out in their entirety—including the vaulting of the tower, which just takes us into the fifteenth century—during the ninety-three years stay of the five Despenchers at Tewkesbury. These

men have left enduring marks indeed, not only upon the fabric of the Abbey Church, but in the windows and monuments which shall be touched shortly upon presently. The subject of vaulting is too large and intricate to handle at all now, so these stately constructions must speak for themselves. The vaulting of the tower bears upon the bosses the arms of Bryan and Despencer.

Richard, the last of the Despenchers, married but left no issue; his widow married the Earl of Northumberland, son of Hotspur. His sister Isabel, born in 1400, to whom Tewkesbury went, married Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Abergavenny; he was killed at the siege of Meaux in 1421, and in 1423 his widow married his cousin, the great Earl of Warwick, "Brass Beauchamp." This carries us into the history of another family, whose castle, monuments, and effigies we dealt with two years ago at Warwick.¹

To Tewkesbury also attaches the interest of having been a divided church. The monks' choir, as was usual in Norman churches, was under the tower, and extended two bays into the nave. The remainder of the nave was the parish church, the two being separated by the rood screen. At the Dissolution the monastic church was mentioned by the Commissioners among "buildings deemed to be superfluous," and this part the men of Tewkesbury, to their lasting honour, bought from the king, and added to what was their own already.

The monuments divide themselves roughly into two kinds,—those with effigies, and those without. Attention may be called to the most important. In the north aisle of the nave is the effigy of a man of the middle of the fourteenth century. This has been commonly but wrongly attributed to Lord Wenlock who was killed at the battle Tewkesbury in 1471. The figure exhibits some curious points of costume. He wears a pointed bascinet with a camail of "banded mail," fastened with a lace in the usual way, and the thighs are protected by one of the numerous varieties of studded defence, of which the construction cannot be clearly made out. The feet are said to be naked, but this seems a mistake. Banded mail is constantly represented in MSS, brasses, glass, seals, &c., and it has long been one of the puzzles of antiquaries, for we cannot make

¹ See *Archæological Journal*, vol. xlv, pp. 238, 464.

out how banded mail was made, and only five sculptured examples are known in England, this being one of them.¹

In a letter to the Rev. T. Kerrich, in the writer's possession, dated December 22nd, 1813, Mr. C. A. Stothard speaks of this effigy as follows:—"Among other curious things I have met with is a figure called by mistake Lord Wenlock, at Tewkesbury, which has some remarkable points about it, but for the discovery of which I devoted a whole day in clearing away a thick coat of whitewash which concealed them. The mail attached to the Helmet was of that kind so frequently represented in drawings and of which you have had doubts whether it was not another way of representing that sort we are already acquainted with. I am sorry that I know no more of its construction now than before I met with it, the lowest row of rings finish in the way I have represented, without the band or cord. I must advertise you that the original is but a coarse representation. I have an impression of a small portion where I found it sharpest. The cuisses of the same figure are remarkable."

The armorial bearings on the surcote, a chevron between three leopards' faces, seem to be those of "Monsire de Lughtburgh," whose name and arms occur in a Roll of Arms² of the time of Edward III.—"Monsire de Lughtburgh, de gules, a une cheveron d'argent, entre trous testes de leopar-des d'or," but there is no record connecting this man with Tewkesbury.

The effigies of Hugh Despencer, who died in 1349, and his wife Elizabeth Montacute, lie under a magnificent canopy on the north side of the altar. The effigy of the man is tenderly sculptured in white alabaster, and shows him in a round bascinet which is not characteristic of this period. His widow married Guy de Bryan, and died 1359.

The figure of Edward Despencer, died 1375, represents him kneeling on a cushion, under a curious open canopy, on the top of the Trinity Chapel. This figure is quite

¹ 1. *Tewkesbury*, engraved in Stothard's *Monumental Effigies*; 2. Tollard Royal, Wilts, in Bowles' *History of Chalk*; 3. Newton Solney, Stafford, in *Archæological Journal*, v. vii, p. 360, paper by, Hewitt; 4. Kirkstead Lincolnshire, in

Archæological Journal, v. xl, p. 296, paper by A. Hartshorne; 5. Dodford, Northamptonshire, in *Monumental Effigies of Northamptonshire*, by A. Hartshorne.

² Edited by Nicholas Harris Nicolas, 1829.

unique, and it is extremely valuable because it is painted all over to the life, and gives the back of the man as carefully finished as the front. With the exception of "Brass Beauchamp" at Warwick there is no other mediæval monumental effigy that does this. We gather one good piece of information from this figure, namely, that there was no hook or like support at the back to keep the baudric from slipping over the hips. These belts must, therefore, have been sewn on to the jupon, which, in this instance is beautifully painted, both back and front, with the arms of Despencer. The fields of the quarters are diapered. The latter decorations have not often been spared for us, because, being usually only painted, they have generally been washed off by the process of church cleaning. The double picture of arms on a jupon was the precursor of the four-fold representation in knightly tabards. The Trinity Chapel has further high interest in the painted fresco over the altar, representing the Holy Trinity flanked by angels swinging censers with graceful ease, while Edward and his wife Elizabeth are shown kneeling in adoration below.

The effigy of Guy de Bryan, died 1390, has some features in the armour that are rarely seen in English effigies. The mail hose covering the legs is strengthened and protected by strips of steel laid upon it, or imbedded in it, after the oriental fashion. The mail of the upper part of the arms shows a number of iron pegs taking the outline of a demi-brassart. They appear to have held in place actual brassarts of iron or *cuir-bouilli*. The fore-arm remaining shows a defense in parallel strips, gilded and silvered alternately. On both sides of the leg strips are wooden pegs at regular intervals, which have either held some decorative covering of the splints, or fastened horizontal bands at those points. It is a very curious example of mixed armour, and is rather a German than an English suit. The whole of the mail, which is of three sizes, the rings in the camail being the largest, has been worked in *gesso*, and the field of the arms diapered in the same way. Stothard has recorded that the armour, plate and mail has been covered with leaf silver; the effigy has also been painted, as well as gilded in parts. The vaulting of the canopy has trefoil-arched, instead of plain cells, which give an appearance of great intricacy.

The "founder's chapel" is plainer but contains the tomb with the matrix of a military brass, of the usual form, of the first years of the fifteenth century.

The chapel of Isabel, Countess of Warwick, has two stories with fan vaulting, and a very rich canopy. It appears probable that the upper story sustained two kneeling figures in wood looking towards the high-altar. This would have been an idea taken from the monument of Edward Despencer.

The monument attributed to Abbot Wakeman, last Abbot of Tewkesbury (1531-1539) must be a century earlier. The "lively picture of death" has reptiles crawling over it, which is a very unusual, if not a unique feature; it reminds us, rather too rudely, of our kindred with corruption.

There are several plain tombs of Abbots; and three canopied ones, side by side in the south aisle, show admirably the gradual growth of such memorials during about a hundred years. All the Tewkesbury tombs and chapels would require a thick volume to properly describe.

Happily, safe in two glass cases, are some beautiful fragments of small figures in armour, and other details, which are worthy of very close study. They apparently formed part of the decorations of the high altar.

The painted glass in the choir is quite unsurpassed for its brilliancy, and it is rendered still more interesting by the eight military figures contained in it. They stand under rich canopies, and all carry lances and wear ailettes. The mixture of mail and plate in their harness fixes the date of these effigies to the early part of the second quarter of the fourteenth century, the most important period of military costume. All the figures can be clearly identified by the heraldry on their surcotes; we have Robert, Earl of Gloucester, Fitz Hamon, four De Clares, a Zouche, and a Despencer.

The four effigies of De Clares are the memorials of the immediate ancestors of the widow of Hugh Despencer "the younger," namely,—Gilbert De Clare, died at Penros, in Brittany in 1230; Richard De Clare, died at Eschmersfield in Kent, in 1262; Gilbert De Clare, died in Monmouth Castle, in 1295, and Gilbert her father slain at Bannockburn in 1314:—all were buried in the choir of Tewkes-

bury. The figure with the Zouche arms represents William la Zouche, of Mortimer, and that which exhibits on the surcote the arms of Despencer impaling De Clare certainly represents Hugh Despencer "the younger," slaughtered with such shocking barbarity at Hereford in 1326. His mangled remains were gathered up and brought for burial to the abbey church;—as the *Register* has it—"Enormiter, pertitiose et crudeliter sine iudicio et responsione, suspensus, distractus, et in quatuor partes divisus fuit; et in nostra ecclesia diu postea sepultus." No doubt these striking and precious memorials were put up by Eleanor, eldest daughter of the last Gilbert De Clare, widow of Hugh Despencer "the younger," and wife of William la Zouche of Mortimer.

OPENING ADDRESS OF THE HISTORICAL SECTION.¹

By the VERY REV. THE DEAN OF GLOUCESTER.

Gloucester—Its name and many coloured memories sends us back to the early years of the Christian Era. During the Roman occupation it was an important Frontier City. I have been taken over “the Gloucester of the last decade of the xix century” by a distinguished local antiquary, with the sole aid of Viollet le Duc’s sketch map of the Praetorian camp at Rome, for Roman Gloucester was strictly laid out on the same plan. Saxon (English) Gloucester—the city of Alfred’s daughter, Æthelflaed, sometime Lady of the Mercians, the city of Athelstan and of Harthacnut, the home so often lived in by the saintly confessor king and his great Theigns such as Godwine Leofric and Harold—was built exactly on the same lines as the old fortified camp. The streets of mediæval and modern Gloucester, one and all still follow the lines of that great fortified camp of Claudius and Hadrian built upon the banks of the Severn waters over against the wild and turbulent tribes of the Silures of Southern Wales, that great place of arms which so soon became the chief city and emporium of all the fair Severn lands.

The Roman city is with us still, *beneath our feet*, a spade or pickaxe can, at this moment, be scarcely used for a few minutes in our city without disclosing the mighty wall built by the Italian conqueror, the vast sub-structure of a temple, or of a great municipal building, or the scarcely discoloured mosaics of a pavement, where once, stranger Italian wanderers worshipped, worked, and walked.

With this cultured many sided life, in which men and women, boys and girls of an old world shared—men and

¹ Read at the Annual Meeting of the Institute, at Gloucester, August 14th, 1890.

women who might have talked with St. John—I have not to deal with specially in this little study, my work belongs to another and a later age. Suffice it to say that the Roman life, with its constant passing to and fro between Italy and the great southern cities, with its legionaries and civic functionaries, with all its brilliant surroundings—costly dress, splendid houses, magnificent temples, gardens, art in its highest development—somewhat abruptly came to an end in the beginning of the fifth century. 409 is a good date. The strange appearance of clouds of barbarians from the North and East threatened all the provinces, and even Italy and sacred Rome. All the outlying legions were recalled—and what may be termed the story of Roman life in Britain came to an end. Then settled over the Island and our Gloucester—for with Gloucester we have to do to-day—an impenetrable mist. What happened to our prosperous city and to the county dotted over with beautiful homesteads, and with not a few palace-like residences like the Chedworth villa, or the far more lordly and magnificent house of Woodchester, only some ten miles distant? It seems as though Britain after the legions left was divided out into numerous little kingships. In the final crash which took place in our part of Britain some 160 years later, Bath, Cirencester, and Gloucester had each their petty king. We have a few scraps of legendary history, but nothing dependable. Probably the old Roman provincial life went on much as before, though on a narrower and less magnificent scale. Then came the end. Through the dim mist which had settled over our city and county after 409 for a century and a-half, we catch sight of a terrible battle between the British Provincials and the English invaders. These were West Saxons under Ceawlin. At the battle of Deorham the three British kings—the successors of the Roman Governors—the three kings of Bath, Cirencester, and Gloucester, were slain, and no doubt directly after, these cities became the spoil of the invading army of Ceawlin. The battle and rout took place in 577. The native British rule had lasted in Gloucester about 160 years. Deeper and darker now did the mist settle over our city. For some 100 years we are absolutely in ignorance what happened to

A.D. 823-1022. Under Beornwulph, King of Mercia. (The nuns are said to have fled in the confusion of Mercia's troubles). St. Peter's Abbey at Gloucester became the home of secular canons.

A.D. 918. St. Oswald's Priory, close to the Severn, founded by Æthelflaed, daughter of King Alfred, Lady of the Mercians, at present St. Catharine's Church, Gloucester.

A.D. 940. Athelstan died in Gloucester; buried at Malmesbury.

A.D. 1022-1539. Benedictines established under Wulfstan, Bishop of Worcester.—1. Abbot Eadric (the waster of goods). 2. Abbot Wulfstan (monk of Worcester). 3. Abbot Serlo (monk of Mont St. Michel in peril of the See.)

The Gemots of Gloucester are now endless. Among the most notable are:—

A.D. 1041. Gemot under Harthacnut, midwinter, at this Gemot the king sold the bishopric of Durham.

A.D. 1043. Gemot under Edward the Confessor decided upon the confiscation of the goods of his mother, Lady Emma.

A.D. 1051. Gemot of Gloucester on subject of Edward's favouring Normans, especially Count Eustace of Boulogne.

A.D. 1052. Head of Welch rebel prince brought to King Edward the Confessor at Gloucester Gemot.

As a rule when William the Conqueror was at peace and in England he kept his Christmas feast at Gloucester.

A.D. 1085-6. Gemot under William the Conqueror was held which ordered Domesday Book to be drawn up.

A.D. 1093. At this Gemot Robert Duke of Normandy challenged William Rufus. Mr. Freeman says, "In the reign of William Rufus almost everything that happened at all somehow contrived to happen at Gloucester."

A.D. 1092. Anselm was appointed Archbishop of Canterbury against his will by William Rufus, lying (apparently) sick to death.

A.D. 1100. The death of William Rufus by an arrow was prophesied by Fulcherius, Abbot of Shrewsbury, in a sermon in Gloucester. This same year Serlo's Abbey, well-nigh completed, was consecrated.

A.D. 1216. Henry III. crowned in Gloucester Abbey.

A.D. 1378. Richard II. held the famous Parliament

within the Abbey walls, in which the House of Commons won to itself the control of the finances of the nation.

A.D. 1533. Henry VIII. spent eight days with Queen Anne Boleyn in Gloucester Monastery.

Gloucester Cathedral awakens many memories—stirs up many and varied thoughts. Its very name sends us back before the days of Claudius, the Emperor, before the Christian Era. In England a few natural objects, a few ancient cities, like London and Gloucester, still retain names older than the Roman, the Angle, or the Saxon. So old is the famous first syllable “Glou,” the storied city’s real name, that as yet our most learned philologists hesitate about its real meaning. We think probably Glou-Cestra signifies “The Fair City,” but it is only at best a surmise. At the time of the Conquest the city of Gloucester occupied the third position in the realm. London and Winchester and Gloucester seem to have been the three official meeting places for the King and the great council of the nation.

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Look at the pile a moment from the Cloister Garden. Observe its twin unmistakeable Norman towers, flanking the tall north transept. They remind us of the invariable feature of these transepts in all the vast Norman churches from scarred mutilated Fécamp to the serene beauty of Canterbury. They tell us—though comparatively little else tells us in this fair view from the Cloister Garden—that the same people built and planned this great church as built and planned Fécamp Abbey and Canterbury and many other such lordly piles.

Look a moment at the round-headed windows along the nave. They tell, too, the same story of their Norman parentage as do the transept towers, though the mullions of these windows help to disguise their real character—speaking as they do of another age and of a different inspiration. Then the great windows of the transept, the elaborate battlements, the exquisite tracery of the cloister windows, speak of the new spirit of architecture which arose in the days of the third Edward—arose, we think, in these sacred walls, and suggested a new school of Gothic architecture which for some two centuries was

the favourite style of English builders—the well-known Perpendicular. Then the great central tower, which marks the slight changes which a hundred years or more brought with it in this style, and tells us how men built and designed in the stormy epoch of the War of the Roses. The eye for a minute leaves the great church. Nestling close under the transept towers is a large plain massive building, quite unadorned, unmistakably Norman of an early date. In those old grey walls, probably somewhat enriched about three or four years later, the Conqueror sat, and held that deep speech with his Witan which resulted in the compilation of Domesday Book.

What a solemn changeless witness to English history is our great church, with its varied schools of architecture, one succeeding the other; with its many traditions, with its storied coloured glass, its under church, its great chapter room. How many scenes of the history of England have been acted in these sacred enclosures, such as the death of Saxon Athelstan, the anxious day passed by the Confessor when the conflict between his Norman friends and the English host under Godwin was at its height. The forms of Edward and Earl Godwin, of Harold and the Norman Count Eustace of Boulogne, of Tostig and Siward, of Gurth and Stigand, seem to pass before us. So much of these stirring scenes passed here. The under church—many of us think still—was built in the Confessor's days. Then William the Conqueror, not once or twice, wore his crowned helm as he presided in the old chapter room over his barons at the great Christmas feast. I should think all those mighty men-of-war—the half-brothers Odo of Bayeux and Robert de Mortain, William FitzOsbern, Roger de Montgomeri, Geoffrey de Mowbray, Roger Bigod, Gundulf of Rochester, and greatest of all, Lanfranc, the loved friend and counsellor, the archbishop—household words with many of us—many times have held deep speech with their stern lord, William, have feasted in the refectory, and have prayed in the church, and taken counsel in this chapter room of the great cathedral.

Some of them and their sons are buried, we believe, beneath the chapter room floor. Robert the Crusader, the Duke of Normandy, the unhappy eldest born of the

Conqueror, we know, lies in front of the high altar. William Rufus spent not a little of his time here. It was in the halls of Gloucester, when he lay sick unto death, that he thrust the staff of the Archbishopric of Canterbury into the unwilling hands of Anselm, who received his hurried consecration in the neighbouring minster. The nave—save that the present stone roof replaced the older one of wood in Henry II.'s days—was, when Anselm was consecrated, very much as we see it now, only a little whiter and more new looking. Our Minster Church, among other stirring scenes and stately ceremonials, witnessed the coronation of King Henry III. and the sadder sight of the somewhat hurried obsequies of King Edward II., who lies beneath the exquisite canopied tomb hard by the high altar.

This same royal tomb received more ornamentation at the hands of King Richard II., who, curiously enough, round the massive Norman pillars which overshadowed the beautiful tomb of Edward II. blazoned his favourite device of the white harte couchant. The same device—we find it on the two contemporary portraits of that monarch, worked on his robe, one of which is in that most solemn sanctuary of Westminster Abbey, and the other on the famous Dyptich of Lord Pembroke at Wilton House—appears to have been the cognizance of his mother, widow of the Black Prince, once known as the Fair Maid of Kent. It was in Gloucester that this King (Richard II.) held the famous “Money” Parliament. Tradition has it that the Commons sat in the Chapter Room, and the King and the Peers met in the beautiful guest chamber of the Deanery—the Deanery for 200 years the Abbot's Camera—then the dwelling-house of the Prior—the lodging must this Deanery have often been of many of the kings of England—the scene of many a stirring event in the History of our County.

Returning to the tomb of Edward II., there is a special interest surrounding this splendid canopied tomb and its beautiful recumbent effigy of the murdered King. The neighbouring Abbeys of Bristol, Malmesbury, and Kingswood refused to give the body of Edward burial within their walls, fearing the resentment of Queen Isabella. The fearless Abbot of Gloucester, Thoky, cared nothing for the

wicked Queen or the unpopularity of the dead King, but gave the dead Edward a royal funeral, and laid the body tenderly and reverently close to the high altar of his Abbey. Within a very short space of time a reaction set in. To the tomb of Edward, the unpopular murdered monarch, flocked crowds of pilgrims, each with their offerings more or less costly. Soon we hear that through these offerings the treasury of the Monastery became so enriched that had the Monks pleased they could have rebuilt the whole of the vast Abbey. Among the more costly of the earlier gifts at the tomb were "ships of gold," "a gold cross with a piece of the true Cross set in it," "a ruby," &c., &c. These precious offerings were from King Edward III., Queen Philippa, the Black Prince, and others. With this well-stored treasury the great architect-Abbots Wigmore, Stanton, and Horton, recast the whole east limb of the Cathedral, including the lantern, the two transepts, and the choir and the noble and perfect cloister. They prepared, too, for the raising and rebuilding in another generation of the present matchless tower. The exquisite Lady Chapel was the work of nearly a century and a-half later. The costly and splendid work of the three great Architect-Abbots was commenced 1327. The south transept was completed by 1337, and is by several years the oldest piece of Perpendicular work we are cognizant of. The choir—its superb vaulting, its soaring roof, its matchless window—was finished before 1350, before which date the exquisite glass which nearly in its entirety still delights and charms us, was all fixed in its place. The cloisters, north transept, and the rest of the stalls were all finished before the end of the fourteenth century. The great east window, the framework and mullions of which contain a few more square yards than the great York window, and is, therefore, the largest in England, and as far as I know the largest in the world, has a peculiar historical interest. Mr. Winston, one of the greatest experts in ancient stained glass, after careful investigation into the undoubted genuine heraldic shields, and into the peculiar character of the colours used—after, too, calling attention to the stone framework being an early but decided example of the Perpendicular style and the stained glass

a pure example of the Decorated, taking these three points especially into consideration :—(1), the date of the armorial bearings (some twelve undoubtedly genuine ones are in the window); (2), the sort of colours used; (3), the difference in styles between the stone framework and the stained glass, Mr. Winston unhesitatingly dates the completion of the window before A.D. 1350, and shows us that we have here a group of the coats of arms of the army of heroes connected most certainly in some way with this county and engaged in the campaign of Edward III., which is famous for the battle of Cressy. We should now speak of this glorious window, simply matchless in colour and size, as a memorial of the battle of Cressy. The “Cressy” window we should now term it.

I have forborne—in this little sketch of historical memories, to touch upon—what will be far more efficiently handled by one of your members who has honoured the gathering with his presence, and whose great European reputation will enable him to speak with far more authority than any to which I could pretend—on the peculiarly inventive character of the three great building Abbots—Wigmore, Stanton, and Horton, and their immediate predecessor Thoky. He will, in another department of our work, point out to us how these great builders not only introduced, but most probably invented, Perpendicular architecture, that form of Gothic so loved in England—almost peculiar to our island—how that graceful and perfect form of roofing usually called by the name of fan-tracery first appeared in the matchless cloister of Gloucester. My task has been to evoke a few of the great historic memories connected with this storied pile.

SOME NOTES ON THE ANCIENT ENCAUSTIC TILES IN GLOUCESTER CATHEDRAL¹

By the Rev. A. S. PORTER, M.A., F.S.A.

No Church in England can show a greater number of Ancient Encaustic Tiles than the cathedral of the city in which we are now met. They are probably all of Worcestershire manufacture, and most of them date from 1400 to 1460.

The most interesting is the pavement in the area before the High Altar, one half of which remains as it was originally put down in 1455 by Abbot Sebroke. It is formed of several compartments of which the most remarkable is composed of nine tiles. The centre one bears the arms of the Abbot "Ermine a cinquefoil," with the words "Dompnus Thomas Sebrok Abbas." On the upper tile will be seen the arms of the Abbey of Gloucester, "cross keys with a sword in pale." They were adopted as the arms of the See on its creation in 1541, and continued in use till the sword was taken away by Bishop Frampton in 1681. On a scroll are found the names of six of the monks who had assisted the Abbot in his undertaking, and the bearings of one of them, Brugg or Brydges, is introduced in the angles, his arms being "a cross charged with a lion's face in nombril point, differenced by a pine cone in dexter chief;" these arms also occur in one of the north windows of the church of Longdon, in Worcestershire. On a band is the appropriate first verse of the 133rd psalm "*Ecce quam bonum et quam jucundum habitare fratres in unum.*"

Among these tiles will be found the two coats of arms of Richard, Earl of Cornwall, the second son of King John, one the well-known lion rampant for Poitou, in a bordure bezantée, for Cornwall, and the other the eagle displayed which he bore as King of the Romans. Tiles bearing these arms are found not only here, but also at Worcester, Bordesley, Dale, Windsor, Holt, Malvern, Exeter and Dublin, and it might naturally be supposed that these tiles would all date between 1256, the date of Richard's election as King of the Romans and his death in 1271. This, however, is not the case, as they are evidently of much later date; and it is certain that, though these and other armorial designs were originally made for some one building, to which the person whose arms they represent had been a benefactor, yet they were later on freely supplied to other churches, and were used merely with a view to their decorative effect.

¹ Read in the Architectural Section at the Annual Meeting of the Institute, at Gloucester, August 14th, 1890.

This observation probably also holds good with regard to many of the tiles which will be observed in different parts of the Church. There is one tile which was certainly originally made for the Abbey of Bristol, and while the noble families of de Bohun, de Warenne, Maltravers, Beauchamp of Powyke and others may have been benefactors to the Abbey of Gloucester, it is not safe to conclude that they were so without corroborative evidence.

Some of the arms, however, were doubtless introduced as marks of respect to friends of the Abbey. The three covered caps point either to Abbot Boteler, or to Boteler, Lord of Sudeley, who was made a K.G. in 1439, and died in 1473; the arms of de Clare remind us of the generations in which the earldom of Gloucester was in that great family, and their successors the Despencers are similarly commemorated. There are several tiles bearing the arms of abbots, and one of these commemorates the great Abbot Parker, who bore "Sable, a buck trippant arg between three pheons or, within a bordure engraved of the third." Some of the armorial tiles in the Lady Chapel were brought from New Lanthony on the dissolution of that Priory. Conspicuous among these is one bearing "on a chevron three pastoral staves between three Cornish Choughs," impaling the arms of the See of Canterbury. These are the arms of Henry Dene, who was Archbishop 1501-1503. He was prior of Lanthony to the day of his death, having been allowed to retain that office in commendam during his episcopate at Bangor, Salisbury, and Canterbury.

Other tiles worthy of notice in the Lady Chapel are one bearing the arms of the See of Worcester, another bearing the words "Croys Christ me spede, Amen," and a very beautiful design with the inscription "Orate pro anima Johannis Hertlond." Perhaps some local antiquary may be able to tell us who this John Hertlond was.

In a room in the Deanery is a fine pavement partly composed of a splendid pattern of griffins, which is also to be found at Tewkesbury, and forms a prominent feature in the magnificent pavement at Broadwas in the neighbouring county of Worcester. Here will be found also several examples of a tile which is frequently found in churches in this part of England, quite thirty examples being known to me. It is evidently the lower tile of a set of four, the whole set giving the arms of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, and his wife Isabella. The bearings on this scutcheon were quarterly Beauchamp and Newburgh impaling quarterly de Clare and le Despencer.

It is a remarkable fact that though so many of this lower corner tile are known, the other three of the set can nowhere be discovered. It is possible that the set was originally made for Hanley Castle, the great house of Malvern Chase, where according to Leland the Earl and his Countess "lay much." Of that castle not one stone remains upon another.

The arms of the great Earl and his Countess seems to have been very differently marshalled at various times. In the example before us he impales his wife's arms; on a seal attached to the Llantrissaint Borough Charter, dated 1424, his arms are quartered with those of his wife, the contents of each quarter being impaled, while on the monument at Warwick the Countess' Arms are borne on a 'scutcheon of pretence.

Dallaway figures in his "Heraldry in England" a set of four tiles

which must have been designed by the same hand as those which I have just spoken of. He says that they are in the Library of the Cathedral at Gloucester, but I have been unable to find them, though they exist in a very perfect state at Middle Littleton near Evesham. The arms are those of the great Earl of Shrewsbury, who quarters the arms of his first wife (Furnival) and impales those of his second wife (Beauchamp).

Mr. Bazeley has called my attention to some very remarkable thirteenth century tiles which are now in one of the upper chapels. They represent a Knight tilting, and are similar in character to others which have been observed at Romsey, Lewes and Tintern. He wears a flat topped helmet, and carries a heater shaped shield and a spear with a triangular pennon.

I have thus glanced at a few of the more interesting tiles in this Church, and commend all of them to careful examination.

The Royal Archaeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland.

CASH ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDING 31st DECEMBER, 1889.

Cr.

Dr.

INCOME.

To Balances in hand at Bankers	..	16	6	1	17	7
" Subscriptions—	..	1	11	6	17	7
230 Annual Subscriptions of £1 1s. each	..	247	16	0		
4 Do. Associate do. at 10s. 6d.	..	2	2	0		
Together received during the year	..	249	18	0		
14 Subscriptions paid in advance in 1888	..					
51 Do. in arrear at 31st December, 1889	..					
305 Total annual subscribers at 31st December, 1889	..					

Arrears as under paid in 1889	2	2	0
for the year 1886, 2 subscriptions	2	2	0
do. 1887, 2 do.	12	12	0
do. 1888, 12 do.	16	16	0
Subscriptions for 1890, paid in advance	7	7	0

Entrance Fees	..	24	3	0	274	1	0
" Life Compositions	..	..	..	..	29	8	0
" Sale of Publications, &c.	..	..	..	..	42	0	0
" Balance of Norwich Meeting	..	..	..	..	61	18	4
" Special Donations—	..	..	..	..	102	5	9

Special Donations—				
The Earl Percy, F.S.A., towards printing the Library Catalogue	..	..	..	..
Wood, R.H., F.S.A...	..	..	..	..
Micklethwaite, J. T., F.S.A.	..	..	..	..

We hereby certify that we have prepared the above Account for the year ended 31st December, 1889, and that the same agrees with the Cash and Bankers' Pass Books of the Institute. Further we have also examined the sundry payments made during the period with the vouchers thereof and find the same to be in order.

KIRBY & BRANFORD,
Chartered Accountants.

8, New Broad Street, E.C., 24th April, 1890.

EXPENDITURE.

By Publishing Account—	..	22	4	0
Engraving, &c., for Journal	..	175	0	6
Pollard, W. & Co., Printing Journal	..	50	0	0
Hartshorne, A., for Editing do.	..	247	4	
House Expenses—	..	113	8	0
Rent of Offices	..	80	0	0
Salary of Secretary	..	9	9	3
Stationery, Books, Cases, &c.	..	3	3	0
Accountant's Fee	..	3	12	0
Sundries	..	209	12	3

Petty Cash—	..	106	7	7
Office Expenses, Attendant, Incidentals,	c. 5	18	8	
Postage Stamps and Delivery of Journal	39	4	8	
Stationery, Books at Office, &c.	12	1	6	
Carriage of Parcels	6	2	0	
Cab and Omnibus Hire	15	9		
Insurance	2	5	0	
Additions to Furniture	..	3	15	0
	..	110	2	7

Cash Balances—At Bankers	..	4	7	6
Petty Cash on hand	..	6	3	4
	..	10	10	10

£577 10 2

Examined and found correct,

R. WRIGHT TAYLOR,
R. MILBURN BLAKISTON, M.A., F.S.A. } *Honorary Auditors.*

Proceedings at Meetings of the Royal Archaeological Institute.

April 17th, 1890.

THE EARL PERCY, F.S.A., PRESIDENT, IN THE CHAIR.

MISS R. H. BUSK communicated a paper on "The Forthcoming Sixth Centenary of Dante's Beatrice, at Florence."

MR. J. J. DOHERTY read a paper on "Bells: their History, Uses, and Inscriptions."

Votes of thanks were passed to Miss Busk and to Mr. Doherty.

May 1st, 1890.

THE REV. SIR T. H. B. BAKER, BART., IN THE CHAIR.

MR. CHANCELLOR FERGUSON read a paper on "Picture Board Dummies," dealing specially with the figures of two grenadiers at Carlisle. These, he said, represented grenadiers of the 2nd, or Queen's Regiment, between the years 1712 and 1727. This regiment was raised in 1661 for service in Tangier, and according to Lord Macaulay, because it had been intended for engagements against the heathen, bore the badge of the Paschal lamb. The Chancellor, however, pointed out that in 1684 the regiment had no badge at all; though later, as these dummies clearly showed, it bore a lamb pure and simple, while the Paschal lamb was not granted to it as a badge until the general warrant of 1751, which recites that the "ancient badge" of the regiment was a lamb, and therefore, by a curious *non sequitur*, ordained that it should carry on its colours the Paschal lamb.

Mr. Ferguson also described a Picture Board Dummy in the possession of Sir Henry Dryden at Canons Ashby. The paper will be printed in a future *Journal*.

MR. J. PARK HARRISON read a paper on "Anglo-Norman Ornament, compared with Designs in Anglo-Saxon MSS." He said he had already mentioned in the first part of his paper "On Anglo-Norman Ornament compared with Designs in Anglo-Saxon MSS,"—(1) the evidence obtained by Mr. J. H. Parker and M. Bouet at Caen showed conclusively that the style now termed Norman did not exist in Normandy at the date of the Conquest; and (2) that there were numerous architectural details in illuminated MSS. of pre-Norman date which, it could scarcely be doubted, were derived from existing buildings. Photographs were ex-

hibited of Saxon churches which exhibited similar features. He believed that Britton's view, that the Normans, when rebuilding English churches on a larger scale, adhered, both from policy and choice, to the severe style of architecture they brought with them, was generally correct. Whilst, however, Remigius built the three great portals at Lincoln in identically the same style as the Conqueror's church at Caen, the narrow arches on either side, if of contemporary date, afford an early instance of the adoption of roll mouldings and ornamental labels such as occur at Stow, as well as in the picture of "Dunstan" in the Cottonian MS. Claudius A 3, the date of which is *c.* 1000. Numerous features derived from Cædmon's "Paraphrase" and other illuminated MSS. of the same period were shown to correspond with details in Anglo-Norman churches. In Oxford Cathedral this was especially the case. And as the weathering of the majority of the choir capitals contrast with the sharper lines of the carving believed to be of twelfth century date, this, Mr. Harrison said, would appear to afford sufficient proof that the interlacing stalks and other peculiarities in four of them, and the acanthus foliage in two, a revival of which, according to Prof. Westwood, took place in the tenth century, belong to the period which documentary evidence would lead one to select for them, viz., the beginning of the eleventh century. The "break of joint" which has been detected in the eastern half of the cathedral, and the fact that vaulting ribs were not contemplated when the choir aisles were built, point to the same conclusion.

Votes of thanks were passed to Mr. Ferguson and to Mr. Park Harrison.

Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By the County Hotel Company, Carlisle.—Two Picture Board Dummy Grenadiers.

By Sir H. E. L. Dryden, Bart.—A Picture Board Dummy Grenadier.

The REV. GREVILLE I. CHESTER exhibited a large collection of bronze weapons and implements, more than a hundred in number, which he had collected last winter in Greece, Asia Minor, Northern Syria, Egypt, Sicily and Italy.

Especially remarkable were a celt, a rare object to be found in Asia Minor, and a singular implement of nearly circular shape discovered on the site of the ancient Colophon, inland from Smyrna, a place which has already contributed an ivory-handled bronze knife and a massive silver pin to the collection of Canon Greenwell of Durham.

Ten javelin heads of elegant form and a short spear came from Zahleh on the edge of the plain of Coele-Syria and a fine bronze chisel from Baalbek. The haft of the spear is turned into a kind of crook, following in that respect the Syrian type and that of the opposite island of Cyprus.

From Egypt were exhibited specimens of great variety and interest. Foremost amongst these is a beautiful small axe found at Tel-el-Amarna, the capital of the heretic King Khu-en-Aten, who abandoned the worship of the ancient gods of Egypt for that of the Disk of the Sun. One side of this remarkable axe, which is covered with a patina which leaves nothing to be desired, is beautifully engraved with a cartouche. The inscription reads, *Nutar Nefer*, [*Ra, T'attoo Ankh*] *Ta Ankh*, i.e., "Beautiful God, Ra-Tattoo-Ankh, giver of life." The hieroglyphs within the parenthesis being, as it seems, the name of an unknown king.

Two falchions of rare type come also from Tel-el-Amarna. The largest of these is attached to its original stick, which, however, does not appear to be of any known Egyptian wood, but was probably brought from the Land of Punt, be that Ceylon or elsewhere, from whence the ancient Egyptians were wont to import rare kinds of wood. The bark of the stick still retains the marks of the twine by which the weapon, which probably was official or processional, was originally attached. Two tiny axes from Thebes may have been either toys or foundation deposits. A very curious group of weapons or implements found in a tomb in the Gebel behind Erment, South of Thebes, present several new forms, and the use of another implement from Tel-el Amarna remains up to this time unexplained.

From Italy many curious types were exhibited, both of the Pre-historic and Etruscan periods. Amongst the latter is an Etruscan *Ear-ring* ornamented with three knobs, which is believed to be an object of very rare occurrence. Some *fibulae* of peculiar form are beautifully engraved with various patterns including the Svastika and the Maltese cross. They were found near Rome, and exactly resemble examples in the new Etruscan Museum in the Villa Papa Giulio outside the Porta del Popolo in that city, which were found on the site of the ancient Falerii near Civita Castellana. An Etruscan collar formed of bronze pendants is of such ponderous weight as to lead to the belief that it formed the decoration of a horse rather than of a man.

Notices of Archaeological Publications.

RENTAL OF ALL THE HOUSES IN GLOUCESTER, A.D. 1455, from a roll in the possession of THE CORPORATION OF GLOUCESTER, compiled by ROBERT COLE, Canon of Llanthony, edited with a translation by W. H. STEVENSON. Issued under the authority of the Corporation of Gloucester, Gloucester: Printed by JOHN BELLOWES, 1890.

Sir John Dorington, in the admirable Inaugural Address which he delivered before the recent Meeting of the Institute, at Gloucester, mentioned the valuable parchment roll or rental of 1455, which the Corporation of that city has just permitted to be printed and issued to subscribers. A copy is now on our table, printed by Mr. John Bellows: the beauty of the type and paper, and the excellence of the work afford additional proof, if such was required, that one and the same individual may combine in himself the qualities which make a successful man of business, and those which make an enthusiastic, painstaking and accurate archæologist, such as the members of the Institute were delighted, at Gloucester, to recognise under the unassuming garb and modest demeanour of the master printer, who was their *cicerone* round Roman Gloucester.

The roll itself was exhibited at the *conversazione* given by the Mayor to the members of the Institute: it is in good condition and well preserved, nearly fifteen inches in width by thirty-three feet in length, and written in a bold and legible hand. The manuscript is arranged in two parallel columns with a blank space between: this denotes the street, and has the name written thereon. This blank space is further ornamented, here and there, with spirited sketches in black and red of the various churches and crosses of Gloucester, and also of the pillory, which was on a liberal scale, calculated to accommodate at the same time the heads and wrists of a brace of delinquents. These valuable sketches, valuable because we believe them to be accurate, though rough, are well reproduced in the book before us. Each column of manuscript represents a side of a street, and contains in due order the tenements therein with the names of the owners and occupiers, their avocations, some particulars as to their title, and the amount they pay to the landgavel (if anything is paid). Blanks are left for the dimensions of the various tenements in front, *i.e.*, to the street, which blanks have never been filled up. The roll, is in fact, a street directory to mediæval Gloucester, but fuller in its particulars by many items than modern directories are. It is compiled from older rolls, and Mr. W. H. Stevenson, the able editor, shews that the oldest roll, Robert Cole, the compiler, makes use of, is one of the time of Henry III. It would also seem that these older rolls were landgavel rolls, as in the case of tenements

paying landgavel, Cole traces their titles back, which he does not do in the case of tenements paying no landgavel. Of these latter, Cole enumerates 346 as against 310 paying landgavel, which is very nearly the number of houses, 300, given in an earlier roll, now in the British Museum, as standing on the King's demesne in Gloucester. As the landgavel was a seigneurial and not a crown due, it must not be supposed that the owners of the 346 tenements paid no landgavel at all. They paid it to their chief lords, while the owners of the 310 paid to the bailiffs of Gloucester, who farmed the city from the King. Cole is described in the roll as "*Fratrem Robertum Cole, Canonicum Lanthon[ie] juxta Glou[cestriam] Rentarium ibidem.*" He was probably the rent-collector of landgavel under the bailiffs.

The back of the roll is occupied by an elaborate pedigree of the kings of England, which is printed with the other matter. A good general index concludes the book, which commences with an introduction by Mr. W. H. Stevenson full of most valuable matter.

We hope that many other municipalities will be encouraged by the appearance of this to do likewise, though Gloucester is far from being the first in the field. Good work would be done by any one who would compile and print a list of those municipalities whose records can be, more or less, consulted in print. London, Oxford, Manchester, Carlisle, St. Albans, Nottingham, Macclesfield, &c., occur to our recollection, but many more names could be added.

THE MONUMENTAL INSCRIPTIONS of the Church, Churchyard, and Cemetery of S. MICHAEL'S DALSTON, CUMBERLAND, by JAMES WILSON, M.A., Vicar: Dalston, Cumberland, W. R. Beck, Octavo pages, xvi, 163. Price 5s.

The fashion for publishing Monumental Inscriptions appears to have "caught on" in the north. In 1878 Mr. Wake published those in Brigham and Bridekirk parishes, in Cumberland; in 1888 and 1889 Mr. Bellasis (*Lancaster Herald*) did the whole of those in the old parishes of Westmorland; and in 1889 Miss Ferguson did those of S. Cuthbert, Carlisle. An energetic vicar and a patriotic parish clerk now combine to do those of Dalston, near Carlisle; the first edits, and furnishes an interesting preface and notes, while the second prints and publishes at his own risk. No great county families are recorded on these monuments: there was little room for such in a parish that held the bishop of Carlisle and his palace of Rose, but there are many substantial families of intermediate rank between county families and "statesmen" (yeomen they are called in the south), whose pedigrees should be put on record by the local genealogists; to that end this book is valuable help. Only two bishops of Carlisle, Rainbow and Perey are buried and have monuments at Dalston, but the near relatives of many others have found sepulchre there.

The book is well printed and got up, and does credit to Dalston and its parish clerk. We believe that the Monumental Inscriptions of the neighbouring parish of Wigton are in the press.



THE PHOTOTYPE COMPANY, STRAND, LONDON.

GRENADIER OF H.M. SECOND REGIMENT OF FOOT, 1714-1727.

FROM PICTURE BOARD DUMMY, NO. 1, COUNTY HOTEL, CARLISLE.

Archaeological Journal.

DECEMBER, 1890.

PICTURE BOARD DUMMIES AT THE COUNTY HOTEL CARLISLE.¹

By R. S. FERGUSON F.S.A. (Chancellor of Carlisle.)

Some of the members of the Institute, who attended the successful meeting at Carlisle in 1882, may recollect two Picture Board Dummies, or life sized figures of grenadiers, which were exhibited in the temporary museum then formed. These figures are painted on planks or boards joined together, and are cut out, or shaped to the outline, like figures cut out of card-board. They are the property of the County Hotel Company, Carlisle, and, as they usually occupy positions on the main staircase of the hotel, they are well known to travellers to and from the north, and enquiry is often made at the office, as to who and what they represent. The usual answer is that these figures represent two of the Duke of Cumberland's guards, and that they are in some way or other relics of the campaign of 1745. That these figures are of an earlier date, and that they represent grenadiers of the 2nd or Queen's regiment of foot, now the Royal West Surrey regiment, we hope presently to show : meanwhile we propose to give a detailed account of the uniforms, accoutrements, and arms, distinguishing the figures as Nos. 1 and 2.

No. I.

No. 1, a grenadier, total height to top of the tuft or pompon of his mitre shaped cap, 7 feet 3 inches : as the cap is one foot 5 inches high, and covers the forehead down to the top of the line of the eyebrows, the wearer is 5 feet 10 inches in height to that line, and must be at least 6 feet 2 inches in total height, particularly as he stands with his feet 18

¹ Read at the monthly meeting of the Institute, May 1st, 1890.

inches apart, which was at the date of these figures the position of attention.

He is dressed in a long broad skirted red coat, piped, or edged with white, now turned by age, or varnish, into yellow: the piping is nearly $\frac{1}{4}$ inch in breadth. His chest, down to his waist belt, is covered by a *plastron* of green cloth, piped or edged as the coat: it has six buttons on either side, set two and two at the ends of loops of white piping, nearly $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches long. The buttons are plain, and whether of yellow or white metal, it is difficult now to say. The coat has large deep cuffs of green, slit below the arm, and piped or edged as the coat: each cuff is 9 inches in depth below the arm, and 6 inches above it: each has a row of buttons (four are shown) near the upper edge of the cuff, going round the arm: parallel to the piping is an ornamental band, a broad white stripe between narrower stripes of white and green. There are pockets in the front of each coat skirt covered by immense pentagonal flaps, each nearly a foot in breadth by 10 inches in depth, and ornamented with two rows of the same ornamentation as on the cuffs. One of these pocket flaps is well seen: the other is almost covered by the buff leather pouch presently to be described. Below the waist belt, the upper parts of the skirts are buttoned together by two buttons, set at the end of loops as on the *plastron*: the lowest of these buttons is about six inches below the waist belt.¹

The coat is cut low at the neck, and there, and at the wrists, the shirt is well in evidence. A cravat goes round the man's neck, and its twisted ends (as seen in the other figure) hang down in front, but are concealed in this case by the grenadier's hands and fusil.

The breeches are covered by the skirts of the coat, but will be either green or red: Cannon's Historical Records of the 2nd foot show that in 1685 that regiment wore green breeches, and in 1741 red ones.²

The stockings are white, and drawn over the knees, and so over the ends of the breeches, or venetians, as Grose calls them³: they are gartered below the knee, and apparently rolled over at the tops. The garters are either black or green. The stockings are actual stockings, not leggings such as the grenadiers and drummers wear in Hogarth's "*March to Finchley*", and "*England*", as proved by the white strap going under the foot, distinctly visible in these pictures. In the case of these dummies there is no foot strap, and the stockings go inside the coverings of the feet, which are ankle jack boots.⁴

¹ Three buttons are visible in this position on the second figure: probably the number is four, set two and two, the upper ones being concealed by the hands, belts, &c.

² In a series of 286 coloured drawings illustrative of the Complete History of the British Standing Army from 1660 to 1700 drawn by Colonel Clifford Walton, C.B., and exhibited at the Royal Military Exhibition 1890 Royal Hospital Chelsea (No. 1940 in the catalogue) a figure representing a soldier of the Queen's regiment wears green breeches. I do not know Col. Walton's authority for his very interesting drawings. Cannon for his regimental records took his pictures of uniform from a coloured book in the British Museum. This book has not been published, but is

merely a collection of coloured figures: in all about three varieties of foot and four of horse of each regiment coloured properly and the arrangement of lace, buttons &c. shown. The press mark is 142 E. 14, I am indebted to the Hon. H. A. Dillon F.S.A., for this information.

³ *Military Antiquities*, 2nd edition, vol. 1, p. 313.

⁴ It is clear that during the last half of the 17th century and the early part of the 18th, the English army did not wear leggings or gaiters over their stockings. But by the middle of the 18th century they had adopted long white leggings or gaiters coming high up the thighs buttoned up the sides, and strapped under the feet.

The mitre-shaped cap, 1 foot 5 inches high, is of red cloth with a green flap or frontlet over the brow. The tuft on the top is apparently green, but ages of varnish have made the paint almost black. On the frontlet is the figure of a lamb, not a paschal lamb, but a plain lamb, with a tail like a fox's brush. Round the edge of the frontlet is the motto :—

PRISTINÆ VIRTUTIS MEMOR.

Above the frontlet is the feather badge of the Princess of Wales, and above that again a crown.

The accoutrements consist of waist belt of buff leather: a sling from the front of this carries the sword and bayonet: a second sling from the back must be required to further support the sword. A buff leather pouch, about one foot square, hangs on the right front by a cross belt which passes over the left shoulder, and comes outside of the waist belt. This cross belt has a plain buckle in it about the level of the waist belt. From the second figure we find it has another buckle at the level of the shoulder: we do not at present see the object of two buckles in one cross belt. The pouch is plain, that is to say it has not the royal cypher and crown displayed, as on the pouches of the guardsmen in "*The March to Finchley in 1745*": at that date the cross belt of the pouch passes underneath the waist belt and not outside of it, as may be seen by reference to the plate in Cannon's Historical Records of the 2nd foot: see also figure of a Grenadier of the First Regiment of Foot Guards, reproduced in the Archæological Journal vol. xxiii. from "The Grenadiers' Exercise of the Grenado in His Majesty's First Regiment of Foot Guards," by Bernard Lens. The date of this figure is 1735.

The arms consist of fusil with buff leather sling, socket bayonet, and basket hilted sword, which last hangs in slings from the waist belt at the left side. The bayonet is carried in front of the left thigh (a very awkward position one would imagine) by the foremost sword sling, passing through a loop, we fancy, on its inside. In the pictures just referred to, sword and bayonet are carried in a double frog at the left side slung from the waist belt. The fusil is a snaphance, or flint lock, with bright barrel.

The position is not known to the present manual and platoon exercise: the feet are separated by about 18 inches:¹ the butt of the fusil rests on the ground, barrel to the right, lock to the front. The hands rest, palms downwards, right hand uppermost, on the muzzle of the fusil, elbows squared level with the shoulders, head slightly turned to the right.

The pouch will contain three grenades, and probably the cartridges for the fusil, unless they are in one of the coat pockets. The grenadiers of the footguards in 1684 carried a cartouch box and a "Granada pouch." See *A General and compleat List Military*, &c., of that date, printed in Appendix X. to Grose's *Military Antiquities*, first edition.

The face is clean shaven and seems to be a portrait, the hair is close cut at the sides of the head; what it may be behind it is impossible to say.

¹ The English Army did not, in the 17th century and the early part of the 18th century, bring their heels together at attention: see the plates in Grose's *Military*

Antiquities, Exercises for pike, musket, halbert, &c. Standing at attention with the heels closed, was introduced from Prussia about the middle of last century.

No. II.

No. 2, a grenadier, originally of the same height, 7 feet 3 inches, as No. 1, but it has lost its feet, and stands only 7 feet high. The figure is uniformed, accoutred, and armed exactly as the other. The fusil is slung on the back, and is not visible with the exception of its sling, which passes over all, *i.e.*, outside of waist belt and cross belt. The barrel of the fusil should appear over the right shoulder, but has been broken off. The right arm is extended downwards at the right side, knuckles outwards, and holds a grenade. The left arm is doubled at the elbow, left hand in front of the centre of the body, knuckles to the front; head a little to the left. The basket hilt of the sword appears at the left side.

Like the other, the face is clean shaven and seems a portrait.

Little is known of the history of these two figures: they were brought in 1853 to the County Hotel by Mr. Breach, from the Bush Hotel when he moved, as landlord, from one house to the other. The Bush Hotel was a famous place in the coaching and posting days: how these figures came there no one seems to know, but there they had been as long as memory of them runneth. The late Lord Lonsdale (Earl St. George) professed to have found at Lowther Castle, some *memoranda* shewing that these figures were made from the wood of a tree grown in Lowther Park. It is to be feared that this clue to their history is now lost.

The lamb and the motto *Pristinae virtutis memor*.¹ clearly identify these figures as belonging to the Queen's or 2nd regiment of foot, now the Royal West Surrey regiment: the tall caps identify them as belonging to the grenadier company. The limits of time are defined by the feather badge on the caps, which this regiment carried from 1714 to 1727: during this period the regiment was styled "The Princess of Wales' Own Regiment of Foot", and bore the feather badge.² The figures are thus identified as grenadiers of the Queen's or 2nd regiment of foot, between the years 1714 and 1727. From Cannon's His-

¹ The motto, *Pristinae virtutis memor* was given to the Queen's regiment for gallant conduct at the reduction in 1703 of Tongres on the Saar in Limburg, Belgium, when the regiment was forced to surrender after an obstinate defence of 48 hours, but was made Royal.

Sir Sibbald Scott, *The British Army*, vol. iii, 436.

² On the 1st August, 1714, George I

not having a Queen Consort available, the regiment (the Queen's) was called after his daughter-in-law "The Princess of Wales' Own Regiment of Foot." When she came to share the throne on the death of George I, in 1727, its appellation was again changed to "The Queen's Own Regiment of Foot."

Sir Sibbald Scott, *The British Army*, vol. iii, p 437.



THE PHOTOTYPE COMPANY, STRAND, LONDON.

GRENADIER OF H.M. SECOND REGIMENT OF FOOT, 1714-1727.

FROM PICTURE BOARD DUMMY, NO. 2, COUNTY HOTEL, CARLISLE.

torical Records we learn that the Queen's regiment was on service in England from 1712 to 1729. It is probable that it was in the north of England, and at Carlisle about the time of the rising of 1715.

The regiment, whose grenadiers are represented by these figures, the Royal West Surrey regiment, was raised in 1661, as the first Tangier regiment; it arrived at Tangier on the 29th January, 1662.¹ After that place was abandoned, the regiment, consisting of two battalions, and 560 men, returned to England in 1684, its colonel being the well known Piercy Kirk. The 2nd Tangier regiment also returned, and, as the designations of these regiments as Tangier regiments now became meaningless, fresh designations were required: the first Tangier regiment, consolidated into one battalion became "The Queen's," and the second Tangier regiment became the "Duchess of York's." They also adopted the colours of those ladies for their facings, viz., green for the Queen's, and yellow for the other regiment, whose fortunes do not concern us.²

What the uniform of this regiment was when first raised may be doubted: in all probability they were armed with pike and musket, and wore buff coats and cuirasses. In 1685 "John Synhouse" occurs as ensign in the list of officers of the regiment given in *A General and Compleat List Military, &c.*, printed in appendix to Grose's *Military Antiquities*. This gentleman was one of the Senhouses of Netherhall in Cumberland, and nephew to Captain Richard Senhouse, who, from having served in Tangier, is known in the family as the "Tangier Captain." His portrait is at Netherhall, and as the nephew would probably select his uncle's old regiment, the portrait is probably in the uniform of the First Tangier regiment.

¹ A most elaborate and valuable history of the regiment is being published by Col. John Davis, F.S.A., 3rd Batt. the Queen's (Royal West Surrey Regiment.)

² Blue, green, and yellow were in the times of Charles II the colours respectively of the King, the Queen, and the Duke of York. Thus "*A General and Compleat List Military, &c.*," printed in Appendix x to Grose's *Military Antiquities* gives—

"King's Own Troop of Horse Guards."

"The grenadiers of this troop have

blue loops tufted with yellow upon red coats, &c."

Queen's Own Troop.

The grenadiers paid clad and armed as the King's differenc't by *green loops* with yellow tufts on their coats.

Duke's Troop.

Grenadiers differend by coat loops of *yellow* upon their breasts.

The three troops were themselves distinguished by pouch belts, covered respectively with blue, green and yellow velvet.

The portrait only shews the head and chest: the "Tangier captain" is represented in cuirass, gilt gorget, white cravat, red coat richly laced with gold, and black full bottomed wig.¹ Colonel Davis in his *History of the Queen's* gives full length front and back view of an officer of the regiment taken from two figures of officers in a view of Tangier by Wenceslaus Hollar in 1669: these figures are dressed in long full skirted and richly laced red coats, but wear neither cuirass nor gorget.²

Cannon's *Historical Records* of the regiment gives a coloured picture shewing the uniform of an officer, a grenadier, and a private sentinel in 1685. All wear red coats with broad skirts, green breeches, and white stockings:—the officer and private wear flapped and plumed hats: there is little, but the arms, distinctively military about the costume of these two. The grenadier wears a tall conical fur cap with a red jelly bag hanging therefrom. Grenadiers were first introduced into the English Army in 1678. Evelyn in his *Diary* under date of June 29, 1678, writes.

Returned with my Lord by Hounslow Heath, where we saw the newly raised army encamped. . . . Now were brought into service a new sort of soldiers, called *Grenadiers*, who were dexterous in flinging hand grenades, every one having a pouch full: they had furred caps with sloped crowns like janizaries, which made them look very fierce, and some had long hoods hanging down behind, as we picture fools. Their clothing being likewise piebald, yellow and red.

Yellow and red were the livery colours of the House of Stuart: they did not long continue to be the grenadier uniform. By 1684 grenadier companies were attached to most of the regiments of infantry, and also to the three troops of horse guards. They wore the uniform of the regiments with certain differences which are specified in the old grenadier song:—

Come let us fill a bumper, and drink a health to those
Who carry caps and pouches, and wear the looped clothes.

¹ I am indebted to the late Mrs. Senhouse of Netherhall, for kindly making me a water colour sketch of this portrait very shortly before her lamented death. Col. Davis considers that Captain Richard Senhouse's portrait represents him in a cavalry uniform, that of the "First or The Royal Regiment of Dra-

goons," which served in Tangier. In 1683 Richard Senhouse was "Pratique Mr." at Tangier, see Col. Davis's *History of the Queen's Regiment*, p. 231.

² Exhibited by Col. Davis, at the Royal Military Exhibition 1890, No. 1983 in the catalogue.

This song is according to Chappell (cited by Sir Sibbald Scott), at least 200 years old, and must come very near to the date of the picture in Cannon's Historical Records, &c. The differences between a grenadier, and a private sentinel or battalion-company man were well marked, when grenadiers were first brought on the strength of the British Army. The grenadiers wore caps, the "furred caps with sloped crowns" of Evelyn; the private sentinels wore hats, hats very like the ordinary hats of contemporary civil life.¹ This distinction was long maintained, through the grenadiers very soon exchanged the "furred caps" for the tall cloth caps, which reigned so long, and which Hogarth has made so familiar. From a "*General and Complete List Military*," which we have cited before, we find that in 1684, the grenadiers of the Foot Guards were dressed like the musketeers but distinguished by "caps of red cloth lined with blew shaloon, and laced about the edges: and on the frontlets of the said caps (which were very large and high), was imbroidered the King's cipher and crown". When the Queen's Regiment discarded the furred caps for their grenadiers does not appear, but these Dummies have "caps of red cloth . . . very large and high," certainly. These tall cloth caps had a long reign but ultimately gave way to the bearskin caps, which were introduced from Prussia into the French army in 1740,² and at a later period into the English.

¹ The bills and estimates for soldiers' clothing, given in Grose's *Military Antiquities* shew the authorities recognised the difference between a private sentinel's "hat" and a "grenadier's cap." It was only in modern times that the "hat" gave way to the "cap." A general order in 1800 directed that the use of "hats" be abolished throughout the whole of the infantry and "caps" worn instead, see Grose ii, p. 195, 2nd edition. But subsequently to this date some officers (query, staff officers) were in uniform the ordinary tall round hat of civil life, decorated with cockade, cords of gold or silver lace, and a red and white plume: see Stothard's death of Sir Ralph Abercromby, No. 688 catalogue Royal Military Exhibition, 1890, De Louthembourg's Battle of Alexandria, No. 687. *Ibid.* and other pictures—see also a Silver Centre Piece given to 5th Duke of Rich-

mond by recipients of the Peninsular War Medal. No. 745, *Ibid.*

² Planché's *Cyclopædia of Costume* vol ii, p. 361. Authorities differ as to when the pointed grenadier cap was introduced into the English Army: Planché in one place (*Ibid.* 359) states it was introduced between 1713 and 1740, while in another place *Ibid.* 363, he states it was not invented until 1730. But these Dummies prove it was in use in the English Army before 1727, for were it introduced after that date, the Queen's Regiment would not have put it upon the feather badge which they abandoned in 1727. It is clear from Sandford's *Account of the Coronation of James II.*, that these pointed caps were then in use in the English Army. Writing of the first troop of Horse Grenadiers he says, "the crowns of their caps were raised high to a point, falling back at the point in a

The second distinction was that grenadiers carried pouches for their grenades, while the battalion company men carried their ammunition in collars of bandoleers: these were presently discarded by all ranks for pouches, as much more convenient. We do not quite understand where these Dummies carry their cartridges and the match for their grenades: there is ample, but inconvenient storage in the pockets of their skirt fronts, or they may have a cartridge box on the waist belt behind. The grenadiers of the Foot Guards in 1684 (see *A General and Compleat, &c.*, carried a "cartouch-box, bionet, granada-pouch, and a hammer hatchet."

The third distinction specified in the couplet, the "looped clothes" refer to the loops at the end of which the buttons of the coat are set. We at first supposed the reference was to some arrangement for looping up the skirts of the coats for convenience, but the explanation will be found in the account of the grenadiers of the three troops of horseguards, cited from Grose, 1st edition, in a previous note:—thus the grenadiers of the Duke's troop have "coat loops of yellow upon their breasts," these of the Queen's, "green loops with yellow tufts on their coats." Whether this distinction continued long or not, we are unable to say: it probably originated in the coats of the newly invented grenadiers being fastened by buttons and loops, instead of by buttons and button-holes.

It may here be remarked that the distinction between civil and military attire, so thin in the period immediately succeeding the disuse of defensive armour, and now so much accentuated, first began with the grenadiers on their first institution. The citizen in one of the plates of Hogarth's *Marriage à la Mode* wears a red, broad skirted coat with pockets and cuffs, much like those worn by these two Dummies, and the pattern has survived to this day as the livery of a state coachman. Of course, while armour was in use, the armour and a coloured scarf and plume formed sufficient uniform.

capuoch (capuchon?) which were turned up before and behind triangular and faced with blue plush: and on the back of the crowns a roundell or granado ball

of the same"; cited by Planché, *Ibid* 282. See also the account of the caps of the grenadiers of the Foot Guard, "very large and high," given *ante*.

It has already been pointed out that the lamb on the caps of these Dummy grenadiers is a white lamb, pure and simple, and not the white lamb passant and carrying the red cross banner or pennon of St. George, known in heraldic language as "The Paschal Lamb", which is now used as a badge by the Queen's Royal West Surrey Regiment (late the 2nd Foot). Lord Macaulay in a well known passage attributes the badge of "The Paschal Lamb" to this regiment at a very early date. He writes :—

When Tangier was abandoned, Kirk returned to England. He still continued to command his old soldiers, who were designated sometimes as the First Tangier Regiment, and sometimes as Queen Catherine's Regiment. As they had been levied for the purpose of waging war on an infidel nation, they bore on their flag a Christian emblem, the Paschal Lamb. In allusion to this device, and with a bitterly ironical meaning, these men, the rudest and most ferocious in the English army, were called Kirk's Lambs. The regiment, now the second of the line, still retains this ancient badge, which is, however, thrown into the shade by decorations honourably earned in Egypt, in Spain, and in the heart of Asia.

Sir Sibbald Scott has shown (vol. iii, p. 433) that the First Tangier Regiment was never styled the Queen's while at Tangier, and that it was not until its return to England in 1684 that it got that designation. At that date it did not bear the device of the Paschal Lamb or any other lamb on its flag. *A General and Compleat List Military, &c.*, from which we have so often quoted says that—

The Queen's Regiment consists of ten companies exclusively, besides the granadiers, flies a red cross bordered white and rays as the admirals in a green field with her majesties royal cypher in the centre.¹

Nothing is said about any badge; if the Queen's in 1684 had had a badge at all, it would certainly have been

¹ In the Royal Military Exhibition, 1890, is a colour thus described in the Catalogue "531B Colours, presented by Catherine of Breganza to the 1st Tangier Regiment (now 'The Queen's Royal Regiment') in 1661, when the regiment was raised for protection of Tangiers, part of her dowry: lent by the 2nd Queen's Regiment."

We viewed this colour with interest and suspicion; as it was gathered up, we could not see what was on it. We are indebted to Col. H. E. Malet for a rough sketch.

The colour is green, in the centre the paschal lamb, below it the motto *Præstare Virtutis Memor.*, and below that "H. or Queen's Royal Regiment." Above is "From the Queen 1661." The colour stands self-convicted as an imposter; it purports to be of the date of 1661, and it bears a title (the Queen's) not conferred on the regiment until 1684, another title (Royal) and a motto not conferred until 1703, and a number (H.) not conferred until 1751.

carried on the colour, and it would certainly have been mentioned in "*A General Compleat List Military &c.*," which purports to give the badges of all the regiments in the English service, and does give them for other regiments with great minuteness. The conclusion is irresistible that in 1684 the Queen's had no badge, and this is confirmed by Cannon's plate of the uniforms in 1685: no badge is shown on clothing or accoutrement. So Lord Macaulay's explanation turns out to be pure imagination. That the Queen's enjoyed the *soubriquet* of Kirk's Lambs, we do not doubt: that they were proud of it, we do not doubt; and when they wanted a badge to put on their grenadier caps, we fancy they assumed the lamb pure and simple.¹ A second Piercy Kirk, son of the first, served in the regiment from ancient to lieutenant colonel and commanded it from 1711 to 1741. He probably put the lamb on the grenadier caps, and in course of time the lamb came to be the "ancient badge," of the regiment. The general warrant of 1751, issued when regiments were first numbered, for regulating clothing &c, recites more than once that the lamb is the "ancient badge" of the Queen's regiment and therefore authorises it to bear "in the three other corners of the second colour "*The Paschal Lamb*," a strange *non sequitur*. The story of the badge of the Paschal Lamb now carried by the Royal West Surrey Regiment would seem to be that it arose out of the *soubriquet* of Kirk's Lambs, and was improved in 1751 from a lamb into the Paschal Lamb.

It is to be regretted that so little is known of the history of these Dummies: probably some ex-grenadier of the Queen's settled at Carlisle as landlord of some or other hostelry, and after the quaint fashion of the early part of the 18th century adorned his hostelry with Picture Board Dummies of his old comrades, which have

¹ As a general rule the colonel of a regiment put his crest or coat of arms on the front of the grenadier caps: we have seen a grenadier's cap in Cumberland, belonging no doubt to the Cumberland or Westmorland Militia, with the Lowther arms on its front. In the regular army this practice was sometime in the first half of the 17th century put a stop to,

and the White Horse of Hanover substituted for the colonel's crest or coat of arms, but I fancy the militia were not so restricted until a later date, thus in the Royal Military Exhibition 1890 No. "605 Grenadier's Cap, Oxfordshire, about 1750" has on its front a peacock in pride, and must record a Duke of Rutland, or some member of the Manners family.

had the luck to survive to this day,—to excite our wonder and admiration. They are most valuable land marks in the history of English military costume. In that history there is a great gap between 1700 and 1745: these figures, being certainly between 1714 and 1727, are most valuable pieces of evidence. The next piece of evidence is Lens' Exercise of 1735, which has already been mentioned; it gives figures of guardsmen. Further evidence is to be found in Hogarth's pictures; then we come to a valuable and curious collection of pictures of British soldiers of various regiments by David Morier, the property of H.M. the Queen. These were lent to the "Royal Military Exhibition, 1890," No. 1914 in the Catalogue, but were mostly skied, or so placed as to render a careful examination impossible. As the most of the figures in these pictures had regimental numbers under them, their date must be subsequent to 1751, in which year numbers were first assigned to the regiments; as Morier died in 1770, the date must be prior to that year.¹ As the figures are all represented at attention with their legs apart, the date can be further contracted to between 1751 and 1757, in which last year the Prussian system of drill was introduced, and the British army closed its heels at attention. Some² of the sketches, without regimental numbers under them, clearly represent foreign, probably German soldiers. But throughout the 18th century, English, German and French foot soldiers wore much the same type of uniform, though differing widely in colour.³

The Gentleman's Magazine, 1845, p. 591, gives an illustration of a dummy grenadier at the Black Boy Inn, at Chelmsford. The G.R. on his cap and his stockings (not leggings) assign him to the first George. His

¹ "David Morier, born at Berne about 1705, portrait and animal painter: he came to England in 1743, and was introduced to the Duke of Cumberland, who settled upon him a pension of £200 a year. He painted portraits, horses, dogs and battle pieces, and met with great encouragement. . . . He died in January 1770." Redgrave's *Dictionary of Artists*.

In spite of Morier's death in 1770, the cata-

logue "Royal Military Exhibition 1890," also assigns to Morier a series of sketches of British soldiers in 1832, see catalogue No. 1961.

² Grose's *Military Antiquities* 2nd edition vol. ii. p. 185.

³ See a plate "Uniform of the French Army" in Lacroix's "*France: The xviii. Century.*"

cap is not so high as in the Carlisle instances, and instead of a *plastron* of different coloured cloth over his chest, the edges of his broad skirted coat have, as far as his waist belt, a broad stripe of cloth, matching his cuffs, and adorned with buttons and lace in a zigzag pattern, in a manner which may be seen in some of Morier's pictures.

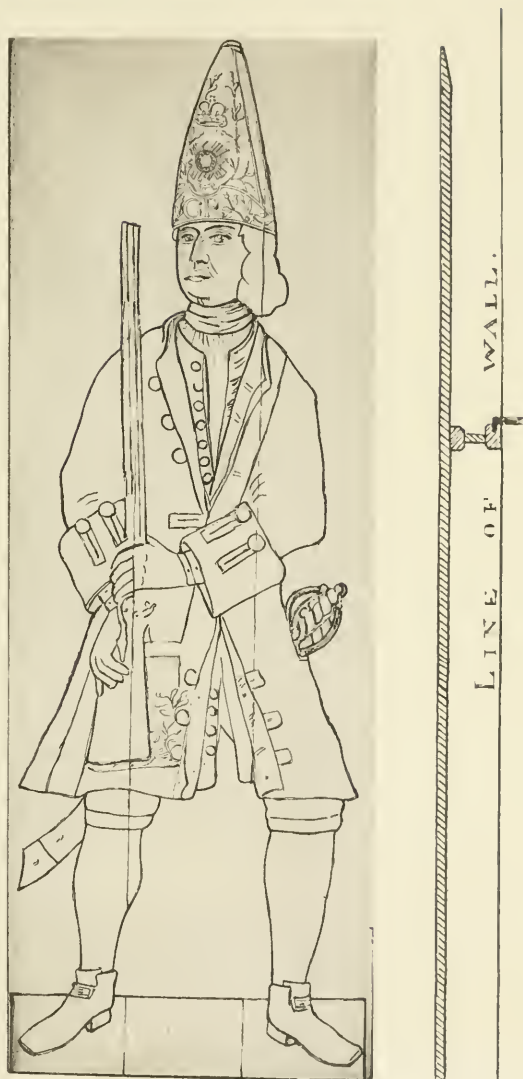
On the general subject of Picture Board Dummies—two papers by Mr. Syer Cuming will be found in the journal of the British Archæological Association vol. xxx. Sir Henry Dryden possesses a grenadier similar to those now exhibited: another of a grenadier is engraved in the Gentlemen's Magazine for 1845: others are mentioned by Mr. Cuming. A favourite subject for representation by a picture board dummy was a housemaid wielding a broom, of which Mr. Cuming gives several instances; I am told there is a very fine one of a housemaid at Castle Howard. Some of us may recollect seeing in one of the rooms at Chirk Castle picture board dummies of two quaint Dutch-looking children, standing right and left of the fire place.

These dummy figures are made feather edged from the back, and have a projection behind so as to make them stand away from the wall, against which they are placed: this adds to the delusion. They are secured in their place by a hook and staple.

APPENDIX.

SIR HENRY DRYDEN'S DUMMY GRENADIER.—A Grenadier, total height to the top of his mitre shaped cap, which has no tuft or pompon, 7 feet 0 inches: as the cap is 1 foot 3 inches high, and covers the forehead down to the top of the line of the eyebrows, the wearer is 5 feet 9 inches in height to that line, and must be nearly 6 feet in total height, particularly as he stands with his feet 18 inches apart.

He is dressed in a long broad skirted red coat, lined with blue, having no piping or edging, and no *plastron* of different cloth on the chest. The coat is cut low at the neck and it is worn open, but has three large buttons above the waist and corresponding button holes by which it can be closed; also three large buttons and button holes below the waist, by which the skirts can be buttoned together. It is buttoned at the waist, but the button is covered by the belt, though the distinctive grenadier loop is visible on the button side of the coat; these loops are also visible on the buttonhole side of the coat skirt, but are concealed or covered elsewhere by the roll over of the coat edge. The coat has deep cuffs of blue, on each of which two large buttons set at the end of loops are visible. The open coat discloses a long red waistcoat, also open, but



THE PHOTOTYPE COMPANY, STRAND, LONDON.

GRENADIER OF H.M. THIRD REGIMENT OF FOOT GUARDS (?).
FROM PICTURE BOARD DUMMY IN THE POSSESSION OF SIR H. DRYDEN, BART.

having seven small buttons and button holes above the waist, and four below.¹ The waistcoat shows at the wrists, and discloses a small part of a white shirt, which is seen on the chest through the open coat and waistcoat. A cravat is round the grenadier's neck, but has no hanging ends, as in the case of the grenadiers of the Queen's; nor has the coat the great pockets in the skirts, which we find in the Queen's men's coats.

The breeches would be blue, but are not seen. The stockings are white and draw over the knees and over the ends of the breeches; the stockings are gartered below the knee. The coverings for the feet are shoes with buckles.

The mitre shaped cap, 1 foot 2 inches high, is of red cloth, and has no tuft or pompon at the top. The letters G.R. are on the frontlet, and above them a star, and above that a crown, all surrounded by thistles (?) hence an idea that this figure represents a grenadier of the 3rd or Scots Guards: it is a little doubtful, if the foliage really represents thistles; it may represent oak leaves and acorns.²

The accoutrements are puzzling, no waist belt is shown, but it may be covered by the cuffs and left hand, and the sword suspended by slings from it. The grenado pouch hangs in front of the right skirt of the coat, from a belt over the left shoulder; no buckle is shown in it. The front of the pouch has the letters G.R. and foliage similar to that on the cap, and probably also has the crown, but the butt of the fusil prevents that from being ascertained.

The arms consist of fusil and sword. The sword has a basket hilt, and a black leather scabbard with brass chape of falchion shape.³ The fusil has no sling, which was an essential part of a grenadier's equipment, part of the barrel is broken away: no bayonet or scabbard for one is to be seen. The absence of sling and bayonet is puzzling. The drawing of the lock of the fusil is indistinct, apparently it is on the left side of the piece, an impossible position. This must be an error. The position is that of "present arms" at the general salute.

The face is clean shaven, with strongly marked lines on each side of the nose, and, as in the other two instances, seems a portrait. The figure either wears a wig, or the hair is dressed and powdered to resemble one. From this, and the absence of sling and bayonet, we were inclined to consider the figure was one of an officer carrying a light fusil,⁴ but other details are more suitable to a private sentinel, and we have quite abandoned the idea that it represents an officer.

This figure is feather edged from the back as the others, and is valuable on account of having the apparatus for placing it free from the wall, viz., a projecting ledge or frame behind, six inches deep. This and the feather-edge add much to the delusion, and life-like appearance of the figure.

¹ This waistcoat was made out of the soldier's coat of the previous years, see Grose, 2nd edition, vol. i, p. 317.

² See the figure of "a Grenadier of the First Regiment of First Guards 1735," by Bernard Lens. *Archæological Journal* vol. xxiii.

³ See Grose, 2nd edition, vol. i, plate opposite p. 153, titled "*Infantry*," for

an engraving of a similar sword, but with a different hilt.

⁴ Officers occasionally carried fusils instead of spontoons. See in Sir S. Scott's book a picture of "An officer of the Norfolk Militia marching past"; he carries a fusil, and the practice is mentioned in the text.

THE KEYS OF S. PETER AT LIEGE AND MAESTRICHT.¹

By E. W. BECK.

To rightly understand what these keys are we must go back to the earliest ages of Christendom, to the Martyrdom, in fact, of the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul, which it is needless to remind you took place in Rome on June 29th, A.D., 67. The bodies of these Apostles rest in the two Basilicas dedicated in their honour on the Vatican Hill and the Ostian Way respectively; their heads being placed together in the Cathedral of Rome, the Basilica of S. John Lateran *omnium ecclesiarum urbis et orbis mater et caput*. So great was the veneration of the Roman Christians for these sacred remains that for centuries the Popes themselves did not venture to disturb them.² Something had to be done, however, to satisfy the craving of Catholics in other parts of the world, who from time to time asked the Popes to give them some relic of the two great Apostles. For example, early in the sixth century Justinian, nephew to the Emperor Justin I, and himself afterwards Emperor, made such a request to S. Hormisdas;³ as in due course did the Empress Constantina to S. Gregory the Great.⁴ The custom arose of sending *brandea*,⁵ that is linen cloths which had rested on the bodies of the Saints; and perhaps some here present may remember a very beautiful mosaic altarpiece in the Vatican Basilica referring to this subject. Another custom was to send relics of the chains of the Apostles, and this is the one which directly concerns us.

The chain which the Prince of the Apostles wore in

¹ Read at the Monthly Meeting of the Institute, July 3, 1890.

² Cf. *Epp. S. Greg. M.* iv., 30 (Migne's edition.)

³ *Epp. Et Decreta Hormisdæ Papæ* in Migne's *Patrol. Lat.*, vol. 63, col. 475

⁴ *Epp. S. Greg.* iv., 30.

⁵ *Ibid.*

the Mamertine Prison was treasured among the most sacred relics of Christian Rome. Of the veneration paid to it we have evidence in the Acts of S. Alexander, who was martyred in the second century; acts which though probably not by a contemporary are yet of early date. To this chain was in time added one of those which the Apostle wore in Jerusalem when he lay bound by order of Herod the King. When this chain was brought to Rome is unknown, but it was certainly not later than the beginning of the sixth century; for, in the reign of Justinian, Arator, subdeacon of the Holy Roman Church, wrote a poem on the Acts of the Apostles, in which he mentioned that one of the Jerusalem chains was in Rome:—

His solidata fides, his est tibi, Roma, catenis
 Perpetuata salus; harum circumdata nexu
 Libera semper eris; quid enim non vincula præsent,
 Quæ tetigit, qui cuncta potest absolvere? Cujus
 Hæc invicta manu, vel religiosa triumpho
 Mœnia non ullo penitus quatientur ab hoste
 Claudit iter bellis, qui portam pandit in astris.¹

It is commonly believed “that Eudocia, wife of Theodosius the younger, in 439 brought from Jerusalem the two chains and having given one to a church in Constantinople sent the other to Rome to her daughter Eudoxia, who was married to Valentinian III.”² But the evidence of this is not of a very satisfactory nature. Since the fifth century they have been kept in the church of S. Peter’s Chains; more commonly called the Eudoxian Basilica after the Empress Eudoxia who built it. The chest which contains them has three locks. One of the keys is kept by the Pope; the second by the Cardinal Titular of the Church; and the third by the Abbot General of the Austin Canons of the Lateran congregation, to whom the Basilica belongs. They are exposed to public veneration on July 3rd and during the octave of the feast of S. Peter’s Chains; which feast is kept in the West on August 1st, though in the East from early times January 16th has been assigned to it.

¹ Arator, *de Actibus App.* lib. i., vv. 1070 ss. (Migne’s edition). Among the poems of Blessed Alcuin, O.S.B. (Migne’s edition) is one almost identical with the above; in fact the only differences are

that the second line runs as follows, *Simplicio nunc ipse dedit sacra jure tenere*, and in the fifth we have *manus* for *manu* (*Aluini opp.*, vol. ii., col. 770).

² Butler, *Lives of the Saints*, Aug. 1st.

The chains of S. Paul do not so much concern us, though, as relics of them were sometimes placed with those of the chains of S. Peter, it may be well to mention that they are preserved in the sacristy of the Basilica of S. Paul-without-the-walls on the Ostian Way. They are exposed on January 25th and June 30th; but permission to see them may at all times be easily obtained from the Abbot of the Benedictine convent adjoining the Basilica.

The earliest written evidence we have of a gift of a relic of S. Peter's chains relates to that made by S. Hormisdas to Justinian, at the same time that he refused him a part of the body. The practice of sending such a relic in a key must have been in vogue before the end of the sixth century; for S. Gregory the Great (the thirteenth centenary of whose ordination occurs on September 3rd of this year) mentions that one was sent back to Rome, to Pelagius II., by a pagan Lombard king named Autharith who had been struck with fear on account of the sudden and, as he believed, miraculous death of another Lombard chieftain who had wished to profane it.¹ S. Gregory himself sent a small cross containing relics of the chains of one or both apostles to Eulogius Patriarch of Alexandria;² and to the Patrician Dynamius.³ The same Pope also sent a number of keys to various dignitaries; but to pass over for the present these and other instances in which the relic was enclosed in a key, we find that early in the eighth century Pope Constantine sent a relic of the chains to Evaldus, Archbishop of Vienne, though there is no evidence to show what form the reliquary took. And then to come to more modern times a few instances can be given on the authority of Monsacrati, an Austin Canon, whose classical work *de catenis Sancti Petri* was dedicated to the erudite Benedict XIV.⁴ Leo X. it seems gave a link of one of the chains to the Cardinal Albert of Magdeburg, Archbishop-Elector of Maintz; Paul III. gave another to Cardinal Gambara; in the last century Cardinal Albano, presumably the Titular of the Church, gave one to Frederic, Prince Royal of Poland; and Benedict

¹ *Epp.* vii, 26.

² *Epp.* xiii, 42.

³ *Ibid.* iij, 33.

⁴ D. Michaelis Angeli Monsacrati,

abbatis ex ordine canonicorum regularium S. Salvatoris de Catenis S. Petri dissertatio ad Benedictum XIV, P.O.M. Romæ, MDCCCL.

XIV. sent some relics to Bologna, of which he had been Archbishop when Cardinal Lambertini. At the present day it is the custom for the custodian of the relics to collect some of the rust when the chains are exposed, and to scatter it on linen which is given away with a proper authentication from the Abbot.

To return to the keys. From his epistles we learn that S. Gregory the Great sent one to each of the following: Anastasius, Patriarch of Antioch;¹ Theodore, a physician of Constantinople;² a nobleman named Andrew;³ a noble lady named Theoctista,⁴ who was charged with the education of the sons of the Emperor Maurice; to John,⁵ patrician, quæstor and ex-consul; to Leontius,⁶ also an ex-consul; to a certain Gaulish noble, Asclepiodotus⁷ by name; and to Savinella.⁸ To Rechared,⁹ King of the Visigoths, he sent two, of which one, it has been suggested, was meant for S. Leander, to whom he sent the pallium by the same messenger; though possibly the keys belonged to two different classes, as one was said by S. Gregory to contain a relic of the chain, whilst no such statement was made of the other. To Columbus,¹⁰ bishop of Numidia, and to Childebert,¹¹ king of the Franks, he sent more than one, but how many is not known. It may be noted that relics of the Apostles—almost certainly either brandea or keys—were sent to the last-named by Pelagius II.¹²

S. Vitalian, who ascended the Pontifical Throne in 657, sent one, containing relics of both chains, to his spiritual daughter, the wife of the Northumbrian King Oswy, over whose piety, he said, the whole Apostolic See rejoiced. The letter written on the occasion has been preserved for us by the Venerable Bede.¹³

About a hundred years after this S. Gregory III. sent two

¹ *Epp.* i, 26.

² *Ibid.* vii, 28.

³ *Ibid.* i, 30.

⁴ *Ibid.* vii, 26.

⁵ *Ibid.* i, 31.

⁶ *Ibid.* viij, 35.

⁷ *Ibid.* xi, 14.

⁸ *Ibid.* xii, 7.

⁹ *Ibid.* ix, 122.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* iii, 48.

¹¹ *Ibid.* vi, 6.

¹² Migne, *Patrol. Lat.* lxi, Ep. 9.

¹³ . . . Nam et conjugii vestre, nostre spiritali filie, direximus per præfatos gerulos crucem clavem auream habentem de sacratissimis vinculis beatorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli: de cujus pio studio cognoscentes, tantum cuncta sedes apostolica una nobiscum letatur quantum ejus pia opera coram Deo fragrant et vernant. . . . *Bede Hist. Eccles.* iij, 29.

of these keys to Charles Martel;¹ half a century later S. Leo III. sent one to B. Charles the Great,² four years before he crowned him Emperor of the West, on the memorable Christmas-day of the year 800. The last instance which can be cited brings us to the year 1079, in which S. Gregory VII., the illustrious Hildebrand, sent a golden key to Alphonsus V.³ of Castile, saying in the accompanying letter that in so doing he followed the custom of the Saints.⁴

In several of the Epistles of S. Gregory we find the phrase "we send you a key from the most holy body of S. Peter."⁵ A similar phrase occurs in the ritual which is followed to the present day, when the pallium is conferred on those archbishops and bishops that have the right to receive it. On such occasions the officiant says, "We deliver to you the pallium taken from the body of Blessed Peter," and it is hardly necessary to say that the pallia are kept in the confession or crypt under the high altar of S. Peter's, which contains part of the body of the Holy Apostle. From this we may infer that the keys sent by the Popes were either kept in the confession or placed on the shrine of S. Peter before being given away; and to this circumstance we may probably trace the legends of various Saints having received a key from S. Peter. Another point to be noticed is that S. Gregory points out that these keys, which in fact were reliquaries, should be worn hanging from the neck.⁶

As to the relic of the chain. In the key at Liége this is enclosed in the hollow of the handle; it can be seen, and is in no way fixed. This must have been a common mode of dealing with the relic, and is indicated by the phraseology of several of S. Gregory's epistles. Sometimes, however, in place of sending detached portions of the chain, some filings of it were mixed with the molten metal when the key was being cast.

There is another kind of key which should be mentioned

¹ *Epp. S. Gregorii III.* apud Migne *Patrol.* xeviii, No. 22; and *Fredegarii Scholastici Chronicon*, apud Migne *Patrol.* lxxi, No. 680.

² Vide Migne *Pat. Lat.*, vol. 98, col. 495, xliii, ad. fin.

³ *Epp. S. Greg. VII.*, vi, 7, Migne's edition.

⁴ I have read somewhere, but cannot now put my hand on the reference that the same Pontiff sent a key to the King of Denmark.

⁵ *Epp.* i, 30, 31; vii, 26, 28; ix, 122; xi, 14; xii, 7.

⁶ *Epp.* i, 30, 31; iiij, 33; vi, 6; xi, 14; xij, 7.





KEY OF ST. PETER AT MAESTRICHT

as possibly the one at Maestricht is a specimen of it. S. Gregory of Tours, writing in the sixth century, says that the keys used for locking the doors of the confession were regarded as relics, and that pious people would often send golden keys to Rome in exchange for them.¹ Possibly too the key sent by S. Gregory the Great to the ex-Consul Leontius belonged to this class for he speaks of it as a *key of the confession* of S. Peter, mentioning, however, at the same time that it contained a relic of the chains.

All the keys which have been described are spoken of as the "keys of S. Peter," a phrase which occurs three times in S. Gregory; and not unfrequently as "keys of the confession of S. Peter," a term which, as has just been mentioned, is found once in the writings of that Pope. The latter term may be due to one of two things. Either it was generally applied because some of the keys were actually used for locking the confession; or it was given because those which were not keys of the door had been kept in the confession or at least placed in it for a time.

Of these keys two only are now known to exist in Western Christendom; of the East the various writers on the subject appear to have no information. The two still in existence are those which furnish the title of this paper; and of them the one at Maestricht, the capital of Dutch Limburg, is in the opinion of experts the older by some four centuries.

The Maestricht key is kept in the rich treasury of the old collegiate church of S. Servais, formerly the cathedral of the Saint, who, in the opinion of the Bollandists, received the key from Pope S. Damasus. Mr. W. H. James Weale, appointed Keeper of the National Art Library at Kensington since this paper was read, in the interesting and exhaustive article which he wrote on these keys for *Le Beffroi*,² endorses this opinion; and adds that most probably it was about the year 376 on the occasion of a pilgrimage made by the Saint to the tomb

¹ Multi emin et claves aureas ad reserandos cancellos beati sepulchri faciunt qui ferentes pro benedictione priores accipiunt quibus infirmati tribulatorum medeantur. Omnia enim fides integra præstat. *S. Greg. Turon. De gloria*

Martyrum xxviii, Migne's edition. S. Gregory the Great likewise speaks of miracles in connection with the keys containing the relic. [*Epp.* i, 27, 30, 31; vi, 26; and xiii, 42.]

² Vol. ij, Bruges, 1864.

of S. Peter. The earliest reference we have to it is in the acts of the translation of S. Servais, which belong to the end of the 9th century.¹ It is said in these acts that when the relics were translated by S. Hubert at the beginning of the eighth century the key was found in the coffin to the left of the body. The "Key of S. Servais," as it is generally called, was sung of in the twelfth century by the Limburg poet, Henry van Veldeken as "the honour of the whole country;" nor were its praises confined to the secular muse for they were found in the hymn for Lauds in the Breviary formerly used by the Chapter, and in two proses of the old Missal. It became the emblem of the Saint whose oldest image, belonging to the twelfth century, bears it in the left hand; and it is found in the arms of the collegiate church dedicated in his honour. It appears, too, on money struck at Maestricht in the twelfth century by the Prince Bishop of Liége; and on imperial money minted there at a much earlier date. I am indebted to Mr. Weale for the knowledge of an early sixteenth century instance of such a representation of the Saint. It is found on the cover of one of the MSS. in the Six collection at Amsterdam; of which there is a rubbing in the magnificent collection of rubbings of bookbinding made by Mr. Weale and acquired by the National Art Library.² It will be interesting in this connection to recall a fact which Mr. Bunnell Lewis noted in the appendix to his paper on the "Antiquities of Trèves and Metz," published in the *Journal*, and to which he has very kindly called my attention; on some coins of Trèves, to which, by the way, Maestricht was for a time subject, there is a hand holding two keys in allusion to S. Peter, the patron of the town, some of the letters

¹ See *Antiquités Sacrées conservées dans les anciennes collégiales de SS. Servais et de Notre Dame à Maestricht*. Bock et Willemssen. Maestricht, 1873. I have to express my indebtedness to this work, as well as to that of Monsacraty and to Mr. Weale.

² In the "Catalogue of Bindings and Rubbings of Bindings in the National Art Library," by Mr. Weale, now in the press, it is thus described:—"Beneath a cusped arch supported by two brackets is a full length figure of S. Servatius, bishop of Tongres and patron of the city of Maes-

tricht, vested in alb cope and mitre, holding in his left hand the key of the Confession of S. Peter, still preserved in the cathedral of Maestricht, and in his right a pastoral staff, the point of which is piercing the throat of a dragon, on the prostrate body of which the Saint is standing, on each side an angel; above and around stars. A plain border with quatrefoils at the angles bears the legend [in black letter]: *Servatius servavit | fidem servavit plebem Domini | servando et orando | meruit quod credidit alleluia.*



KEY OF ST. PETER AT LIÈGE

in the Apostle's name being arranged to form the wards of the keys.

The material of this key is said by the editors of the *Antiquités* to be a mixture of gold and silver of the kind anciently known as electrum, but Mr. Weale says that it seems to be a mixture of silver and copper. The key was probably gilt originally, for there are remains of gilding in the parts less exposed to friction. The handle is oval; divided into four compartments; covered with ornaments of foliage. It is open work, but contains no relic. Possibly it is one of those in which the filings were mixed with the metal. The barrel of the key is octagon in form; the key-bit cruciform and pierced by five small crosses. Experts who have examined the key of S. Servais have no hesitation in placing it among the works of the fourth century. It will be sufficient to note the names of Dr. Bock of Aix-la-Chapelle, and Mr. Weale; the last-named of whom is probably second to none in his knowledge of gothic art—a point of importance, for did the key belong to the XII or XIV century as has been suggested, he could hardly be deceived. As a matter of fact the material of which it is composed was not used by the artificers of the gothic period. Its dimensions are as follows:—Total length, about fifteen inches; length of handle, about six inches; breadth of handle, about three and a half inches; breadth of key-bit nearly two inches.

The other key is at Liège, and is generally known as the “Key of S. Hubert,” to whom a very constant tradition affirms that it belonged. This saint transferred his See from Maestricht to Liège early in the eighth century, and it is certainly a curious coincidence that the only keys of this class now known to exist should have belonged to bishops of the same diocese; and that they should now be preserved in the two towns, only fifteen miles apart, which at different times have been honoured with the episcopal chair, though now, indeed, they are not only in different dioceses but different countries.

The key of S. Hubert was originally kept in the church of S. Peter in which the Saint was buried; and very possibly it was removed from the coffin when his relics were translated early in the ninth century. It is now

one of the treasures of the Church of the Holy Cross, and there can be no doubt of its authenticity in so far that it certainly is one of the "Keys of S. Peter." Its shape is very similar to that of the key of S. Servais, but the character of the ornamentation is very different. It is about fourteen and a half inches long, and the diameter of the handle is rather more than three inches. The handle only is ancient. The whole of the lower part, including the crucifix, cannot apparently be placed earlier than the second half of the twelfth century; it is believed that the original of this part perished in 1183 in the fire which destroyed the churches of S. Lambert and S. Peter. The handle is divided into eight triangular spaces by four bands running its whole length, each band about three-quarters of an inch broad; another of the same breadth passing round the middle. The upper four spaces show S. Peter holding a book, whilst in the lower four is represented the *Majestas Domini*, that is, our Lord sitting on the heavens holding the book of life in His left hand, whilst His right is raised in blessing. On the band is a tree between two animals. There are triangular and cruciform openings through which the relic of the chain, about half an inch long, can be seen. The workmanship is inferior to that of the Maestricht key, a circumstance which has been explained by the low state into which art fell after the inroads of the barbarians, and from which it did not recover till long after the eighth century.

Mr. Weale mentions in the *Le Beffroi* that a key is mentioned in the inventory, made in 1523, of the treasury of the Cathedral of Laon, which from the description he thinks may have been a key of S. Peter; but neither he nor the editors of the *Antiquités Sacrées* could say if it had escaped the hands of the revolutionists. The Bollandists mention another key which for long was preserved in a Corsican church, though at the time of publication of the June volume of the *Acta Sanctorum* it no longer existed. We have reason to be grateful to the churches of Liège and Maestricht for having preserved their keys with such jealous care; but for them, unless indeed the Laon key should still be in existence, all trace of these interesting relics of the middle ages would have perished as completely as the custom of sending the keys itself.

OPENING ADDRESS OF THE ARCHITECTURAL SECTION¹.

By PROFESSOR MIDDLETON.

There is probably no district of England which is as rich as Gloucestershire in objects of archæological interest, embracing all periods—prehistoric, Roman and mediæval. With all the various races who have inhabited Britain this part of Mercia has been a specially favourite dwelling place, owing partly to its fertility, its well watered valleys, and also to its noble ranges of hills, affording the best of sites for camp-earthworks or fortresses surrounded with stone walls. In building materials for military and domestic use Gloucestershire is specially rich; its extensive forests supplied timber in abundance; and almost every hill afforded good and easily worked building-stone²; the oolitic limestone, the blue lias and the so-called Stonesfield slate which was so valuable for roofing purposes.

And further I may say that the archæology of no other district in England has been more carefully studied than that of Gloucestershire, more especially during the 30 years that have elapsed since the former visit to this city of the Archæological Institute in 1860.

It is somewhat difficult to find anything new to say after the many valuable monographs that have been produced by careful local antiquaries, and the various writings of such learned and widely famed archæologists as Professor Willis, Mr. Petit, Mr. Parker, the Rev. C. H. Hartshorne, Professor Westmacott, and others, who were present here in 1860, but, now, alas, are numbered with the heroes of the past. However, there are one or two able writers, who were at our last meeting here, and who

¹ Read at the Annual Meeting of the Institute, at Gloucester, August 13th, 1890.

² Chalk countries, such as Cambridge-shire, are usually poor in old buildings.

I am happy to say are still among us—Professor Freeman, Precentor Venables, and Dr. Collingwood Bruce.

The result of this long array of distinguished writers having dealt with the archæology of Gloucestershire is that I somewhat shrink from treating to-night this well-worn subject with my feebler hand, and I propose to lay before you, as shortly as I can, the results of the many important explorations that have been made during recent years, not in Gloucestershire or even England alone, but throughout the classical world and more especially in Hellenic soil. It is now becoming more and more necessary to realise that archæology is a subject that must be worked at as a united whole—that is, that the Art and the Antiquities of no one country can fruitfully be studied by themselves, but must be explained and illustrated by a comparison with the state of artistic development in other countries—not necessarily at a contemporary period of time, but with those which were passing through a similar stage in their mental and artistic development.

The extraordinary unity of the human mind wherever found and in whatever period—provided there is some similarity in their relative stage of progress—is a very striking and important fact, and one of the widest application.

Thus, for example, in the prehistoric tombs of Hissalik in the Troad, Mycenæ, Tiryns and other places dating probably twelve or fourteen centuries B.C., we find repeated again and again types of ornament which have the closest resemblance to those of the Celtic races a little before the Roman conquest of Britain, and even later.

Again, the close relation between the art of classical people and that of the early inhabitants of Britain has been established in a very startling and brilliant way by Mr. Arthur Evans, who has been the first to point out fully the fact that in the early Celtic burials of Britain, during the second and first centuries B.C., we find actual objects, bronzes and the like, of classical workmanship—the result of the long packhorse and river line of trade that passed through Gaul and connected Britain with the Græco-Italic art of Northern Italy. The result of this is, not only that we find in early Celtic graves actual objects of Italian workmanship, but also that the native Celtic potters were largely influenced in the forms of their

vases by having before them as models the bronze vessels from beyond the Alps. This explains the curious ribbed shape of much of this early Celtic pottery, imitating the banded or corrugated forms by which the classical metal-workers strengthened the thin bronze of their vessels.¹

So, again, such interesting Roman remains as those at Lydney and Bath are illustrated by the recent explorations of the sacred *temeni* of Asklepios in Athens and at Epidaurus in the N.E. of the Peloponnese.

At Lydney we have the sacred spring and the sanctuary of a Romano-British deity called *Nodens* or *Nudens*—possibly a local form of the Roman Aesculapius, who again was a modified form of the early Greek Asklepius, a deity of Chthonian character, in his original form.

The *Asklepieia* of the Greeks, we find, included within the sacred temple inclosure rows of bed rooms for the patients who came for the “water cure,” covered *stoae*, or *porticus* for exercise in bad weather, hot and cold Baths, and the “Pump-room” where the patients drank of the healing spring.

At Epidaurus all this is on a magnificent scale, with buildings of great beauty, including places of amusement, such as a theatre and a large stadium; and lastly the *Tholos* or pump-room, designed by the younger Polyclethus c. 370 B.C., a circular building all of brilliant Parian marble, with external range of Doric columns and an internal ring, inside the round cella, of the Corinthian order—the earliest example of this style which is known to exist.

In the centre of the *Tholos* hall, with its splendid inlaid pavement of coloured marbles, is the sacred well, with a mysterious subterranean crypt for closer access to the wonder-working waters.

At Athens, owing to want of space at the foot of the Acropolis rock, the *temenos* buildings were less magnificent than at Epidaurus. The sacred spring (*κρήνη*), which even now issues pure and cold out of the rock, is not sheltered by a marble building, but is within a more primitive rocky

¹ Compare the recently discovered prehistoric pottery from the early graves of the Etruscan Falerii, north of Mount Soracte, with actual bronze studs or

bosses pressed into the soft clay of the pottery before it was fired. See Mr. A. J. Evans' paper on this interesting subject in *Archæologia*, vol. 52, 1890.

cave—partly natural and partly formed by quarrying into the form of a round dome-roofed chamber. By it is the *stoa* for the weaker patients to walk or sit, and next to that is a row of small rooms, probably for the accommodation of those who wished to sleep within the sacred temenos itself, thus giving the god an opportunity of suggesting in a dream the right method of cure.

At Lydney we find a very similar arrangement; and the evidence afforded by the *Asklepieia* of the Greeks makes it more than probable that the curious many-roomed building of cloistered form, near the temple of *Nodens*, was intended as a sort of sacred hotel for the patients' use, not, as had formerly been supposed, simply as dwellings for the priests.

In the same way we find that a study of the later Roman style of building and details goes far to illustrate and explain the early types of the Architecture of the Normans.

In Spoonley Villa, which we shall, I hope, visit this week, and in other Roman houses of Gloucestershire we see in the mouldings of capitals and bases the proto-types of many of the most characteristic mouldings of the Norman and even of the early English style.

At Deerhurst we see in the shapes of the Saxon caps, fluted pilasters, and arch-imposts copies in stone of the later brick-forms of the Romans.

And in the nave and crypt of Gloucester Cathedral we see with the utmost clearness how the Norman builders of the eleventh century copied and modified the characteristic Tuscan or Romano-Doric of the later Empire—the *abacus* of square section and the round *echinus* of the Doric capital are here adopted with but little change.

The truth is that at the time of the Norman conquest many a stately Roman building, of which no trace now exists, must have still been standing in Britain and in Gaul, and it would have been strange if such noble and effective builders as the Normans had not appreciated and utilised the grand designs of the Romans of the past.

Another striking example of similarity in the buildings of two different races, at two far distant periods, but who, nevertheless, were in many respects in the same stage of development, is to be noticed in the palaces of the hero-kings of Mycenae and Tiryns and the halls of the Teutonic or Scandinavian chiefs.

Of the latter existing examples are unknown in Britain, but remains of houses found in Norway and other Scandinavian countries give us a clear notion of what was the type of dwelling used by the chieftains of Saxon or Scandinavian race in England. In both cases—in the prehistoric Greek palace and that of the English Thane—the dwelling consisted of one large hall, with its central fire-hearth, and, in front, a projecting portico carried on wooden columns.

Behind the hall were one or two smaller and more private rooms for the use of the women; in the primitive English house that was all. In the Greek palace the more private apartments were of greater extent and importance. The main hall, however (the μέγαρον of the Homeric heroes) was closely similar in both cases, and in it the chieftain sat and feasted in the company of his friends and retainers; while at night time the hall formed a sort of common dormitory where the men slept side by side, each rolled up in his cloak, making a bed of the rushes which strewed the floor, which in the Greek palace was made of cement, and of simple beaten clay in the Teutonic hall.

I must not fail to make some mention of the many most important discoveries of the last few years on the Acropolis of Athens, which have in many ways gone far to modify all previously existing views on the development of Greek art, especially architecture and sculpture.

At the sack of Athens by the Persian invaders in 480 B.C., the buildings, statues and other monuments of the city were burnt and shattered by the invading army—including the most sacred of all Athenian shrines, that of Athene Polias on the Acropolis. After the glorious and decisive defeat of the army of Xerxes at Plataea in the following year (479 B.C.), and the subsequent destruction of the surviving Persian army, the Athenians, with great energy, set to work to rebuild the public monuments of their city on a much more magnificent scale than before.¹ One of the principal public works undertaken at this time was, not merely the rebuilding in Pentelic marble of the Acropolis and other temples, but also the extensive

¹ The great development of the silver mines at Laurium supplied the necessary

funds—first for the Athenian Navy, and then for the public buildings and statues

enlargement of the level plateau at the top of the Acropolis rock by surrounding it with a more extensive circuit wall, set lower down the rocky slope, and by filling with "made earth" the large expanse of additional enclosure. At some places the mass of made earth is from forty to fifty feet deep, and so an enormous amount of material was needed for this extension of the plateau. For this purpose the Athenian used the broken fragments of the stone buildings which had been ruined by the Persians and also a very large number of marble statues—more or less broken during the sack of the city: and great quantities of other *debris*, broken pottery and the like.

Within the last few years this enormous mass of material, all buried below the finished ground level of the time of Kimon, has been thoroughly examined, and a large Museum formed to contain the sculpture and architectural fragments which were found. One of the reasons of the very great value of this discovery is the known date of the damage that was done to the various buildings and statues.

Owing to their position, we know that they must date from before the year 480 B.C.; in many cases they are considerably earlier—but in one direction, at least, we have a fixed date. Among the sculpture are nearly 20 life sized or colossal statues in white marble, all of which must have been executed not long before the sack of Athens. They all represent female figures, either a priestess or a deity: the motive is very similar in them all. The long *chiton poderes* is held up by one hand, and the other hand outstretched held a flower or some other object. All were richly decorated with gold and colour; apparently applied by the wax process (encaustic).

The hair is always red, such red as Titian loved to paint; the flesh seems to have been left uncoloured, but received a delicate polish: and the whole of the drapery was coloured, and had elaborate borders of flower patterns. The eyes were usually inlaid in enamel or crystal.

All these statues are remarkable for their great dignity of pose, and simple, nobly designed drapery.

The modelling of the faces, though having some archaic stiffness, is very soft and often beautiful in expression, with a spiritual beauty that reminds one of the best work of Florence in the 15th century. A very important lesson

to be learned from these statues is that the glorious period of Greek Art under Myron, Polyclethus and Pheidias, was not a sudden outburst of inspiration, but was led up to slowly and gradually by the labours of the preceding generations of Attic sculptors—as indeed might have been expected from the analogy of the art development of other countries and other periods.

In addition to these marble statues there were found among the Acropolis debris a number of much earlier pieces of sculpture, worked in the fine local yellow limestone (poros); and all covered with painting of the most startlingly gaudy colours. Some of these, which are of colossal size, appear to have been the pediment sculpture from some early temple, as, for example, a group of Herakles strangling a strange monster—half man and half serpent which represents the sea-god Triton.

Another appears to have been a group of Zeus slaying the earth-born Typhon, the latter of whom is represented as a monster with three winged human bodies and a serpent termination. In these the flesh is brilliant crimson and the hair a still more brilliant ultramarine blue.

Some of the later, but still very early, limestone statues have the borders of their drapery deeply incised with floral patterns, and the sinking filled in flush with cements of different bright colours—red, blue and yellow—very rich and decorative.

All this coloured decoration applied to sculpture by the Greeks is curiously similar both in style and technique to the colour which the artists of mediæval England applied to their carvings in stone and alabaster.

No finer example of its kind exists anywhere than the splendid reredos of the Lady Chapel of Gloucester Cathedral, which even in its sadly mutilated state ought to be protected from all injury, and more especially from “Restoration,” as an object of priceless value.

There is the same fearless use of bright, pure colours, the same minute delicacy of painted pattern covering every detail, and above all the same richness and beauty of texture given by the use of slight, but distinct *relief* to all the brilliantly coloured designs.

With gold this is specially necessary—gilding applied to an unbroken flat surface looks at once poor and gaudy,

and both the Greek and the mediæval artists invariably applied their gold leaf to surfaces which were slightly broken up by relief-work in *gesso* or other material.

This, by giving a varied play of light and shade, immensely enhanced the decorative value of the gold, and at the same time gave it a look of body and solidity.

Any attempt to restore the reredos in the Cathedral Lady Chapel would be a most disastrous failure, and would inevitably cause the destruction of one of the richest examples of mediæval coloured decoration that is still left to us.

OXFORD AS A FACTOR IN THE PROGRESS OF ARCHÆOLOGY.¹

By PROFESSOR MONTAGU BURROWS.

Perhaps as coming from Oxford, it might be agreeable if I were to say something about the contributions which Oxford is making to history on its archæological side. These are much too numerous to be mentioned in detail, but there are at present, besides many indirect ways, no less than three distinct methods by which this work is being done at Oxford in a direct form and in a public way. Taking them in priority of formation these are the "Oxford Architectural and Historical Society," much more archæological than anything else; the new "Oxford Historical Society," and the Readership of Mediæval Palæography. It would be too much to say that, under these methods, and, indirectly, by the rapid growth of the School of Modern History, with its apparatus of Professors, Readers, Tutors, and multitudes of Lectures, Oxford is becoming the centre of archæological study;—for London, Cambridge, and perhaps other places, have equal or superior claims of their own; but its progress in the educational direction of such studies may be at least a new subject of interest to some of your members, though no doubt familiar enough to many.

The Oxford Architectural and Historical Society, though the oldest, requires less notice than the younger institutions. It was called originally the "Society for promoting the study of Gothic Architecture," which was founded some half a century ago. Between the different stages of its progress the late Mr. J. H. Parker, formed perhaps the most continuous link. He may fairly be considered one of the chief founders of that science of Architectural History which has become nowadays so

¹ Read in the Antiquarian Section at the Annual Meeting of the Institute, at Gloucester, August 12th, 1890.

widely spread. We can hardly bring ourselves to believe that what is now the property of thousands, the common inheritance of educated men, was then confined to a few so-called enthusiasts, such as the men who established this and the Cambridge Camden Society. The Oxford Society has been chiefly educational and local. It has indeed included in its annual volumes of "Proceedings" not a few valuable papers; but its main work, its characteristic work, has been and still is, to arrange each term excursions in Oxford and its neighbourhood for successive generations of under-graduates, who cannot fail to learn under the masterly guidance of men like Mr. James Parker, the Treasurer, the rudiments of archæology as taught from examples on the spot. The clergy of the diocese have learnt not a little by these visits to their churches, and a public opinion has been formed which now effectually forbids within this area the barbarisms which have been deplored in too many "restorations." The undergraduates do not, however, form the majority of the excursionists or attendants at meetings, which is made up of ladies and citizens, and which thus aids to popularize this species of knowledge. Nor should it be forgotten that the Society has of late years found a welcome home in the renovated and beautified apartments of the Ashmolean Museum, crowded with noble antiquities, the study of which is itself an education. This it owes to the zeal and goodwill of Mr. Arthur Evans, the distinguished son of a distinguished father.

The new "Oxford Historical Society" is probably better known to your members, some of whom are no doubt amongst its subscribers. It was only founded in 1884, but it has already done a great work under the skilful management of the secretaries, the chief of whom is Mr. F. Madan, Sub-librarian of the Bodleian Library. Its object is purely literary, and it is confined to the elucidation of Oxford history, the history both of the City and of the University, but of course vastly the most in connection with the latter. A palpable movement in this direction was in the act of taking place when, strangely enough, life and form were given to it by the death of Mr. J. R. Green, the historian, and by the publication of a paper of his which proved a sort of literary legacy.

In this paper he recommended the institution of a Society for the purpose of collecting into one body all the documentary knowledge which modern research is now bringing to light, and so preparing the way for a history of the University and City of Oxford, worthy of our advanced age. In answer to this call a council was formed, and a subscription list was opened. Already some eighteen goodly volumes have been the result. Priceless MSS. of Anthony Wood, and of Thomas Hearne have been excellently edited for the first time; some College histories have been written, and others are in progress; the history of the Oxford Market, a truly venerable history, has just come out; and the antiquity of the University has been effectively discussed. The Registers of the University have been printed and noted by competent hands, and the lists of books current in the infancy of the Renaissance, have been unearthed from the secret hiding-places where they had been lying for nearly four centuries. One of these has been exposed to the light, and has undergone the searching identification of experts. The latest and not the least interesting of these discoveries has been the list of books belonging to the "Father of English Learning," William Groeyn. It was found last year amongst the archives of Merton College; and it is hoped that the light which this discovery has thrown upon the career of the man may have the effect of drawing attention to his extraordinary claim on our respect and admiration, too long neglected, and indeed forgotten;—for I need not say that the history of the English Renaissance has yet to be written. It is, perhaps, only one out of many such revivals of lost literature still in store for us. Talk of the discovery of an arrow-head, of an antique statue, of an Egyptian mummy! What are these discoveries of dead things to the rehabilitation of a great name, the name of one from whom, unknown to ourselves and unsuspected, we have received an intellectual inheritance, and whom we can bid to walk the earth once more? It is a sort of resurrection. Let us hope that the day is not far distant when the preliminaries will be concluded, when the materials for Oxford history will be gathered in, when we shall have found out all that can be found concerning those who have made the history of Oxford, and when, finally, the writer shall come to the

front who can use the style of Hume and Robertson, a style too long lost in the hurry and profusion of a widely, but not deeply, educated age.

Both of these institutions above described have local aims; the third, to which I now call your attention, has a general object. Only last year the University resolved to take steps towards the cultivation of a knowledge of mediæval orthography, or to use the larger term which has been officially selected, "palaeography." It was induced to do so by the conviction that a very large part of our ignorance of mediæval history and archæology arose from the simple circumstance that only a few people possessed the power of reading a mediæval manuscript. Still further, it was represented that many intelligent and zealous people were not aware of the simple fact that they must master this alphabet, this key, this "open sesame" of mediæval literature, before they could grapple with the contents of the casket. They often ventured to make the attempt, if chance or inclination led that way, with a light heart; but the difficulties soon discouraged them; they were often misled and fell into many a trap, or at best made but slow progress, and lost many an opportunity which could never come again. We all know, indeed, that sundry books have been written by experts which profess to teach the art of reading mediæval MSS., and they are, indeed, much better than nothing; but then their real use is to most people rather as books of reference than as primary instructors. All this having been pointed out by those who had gone through the long and painful processes of self-instruction—none the worse in such cases for being long and painful—the University has established a Readership for this express purpose, and has fortunately found exactly the right man for the place in Mr. Falconer Madan, already mentioned for his services to the "Oxford Historical Society." He has formed a considerable class of students who pursue with him a regular course of study, tracing the changes of orthography from one age to the other by the help of the vast stores accumulated in the Bodleian Library, thus laying a solid foundation on which students can afterwards build for themselves.

I look on this as a very much greater step in the

progress of archæology than would appear at first sight; and strongly suspect that mediæval palaeography will before long find a place as a special subject in our Modern History Examinations, which is the only method of bringing anything to the front in our Oxford system. I am happy to say that this study is finding favour with the ladies at Oxford, as well as with graduates and a sprinkling of undergraduates. When the men find out that the ladies can decypher a mutilated inscription on a brass, or emerge triumphantly out of the difficulties presented by the crabbed hand of an Elizabethan parson in a parish register, depend upon it the men will follow. When an army of experts of both sexes is engaged in opening out the treasures which are still to be found all over England; when our own people discover half the zeal in these pursuits which distinguishes our American kinsmen—the history of England will become a very different thing from what it is now.

And this brings me to the conclusion of my paper. I have spoken of the direct ways in which Oxford contributes nowadays to the progress of archæology, both specially as regards Oxford and its neighbourhood, and generally as a teacher of the archæological alphabet of English literature. And I may add by the way that as nobody can make use of this key, when he has found it, without some practical knowledge both of Latin and French, the study of mediæval orthography has the advantage of encouraging a liberal education. Latin and French open out many more things than archæology; but people are sometimes found to complain that they do not see what good their youthful labours to acquire these languages have done them. If such labours enable them to make ever so small a contribution to English History that question is answered; and I need hardly tell the members of this Institute that the progress of archæology, in the largest sense of that word, is placing us under the serious obligation of re-writing the History of England, and its mediæval portion in particular.

To those who have not been personally concerned in the teaching of English History to grown-up people for many years, it will appear almost incredible that such a phrase should be applicable at the present day, when so

many first-rate men have written works which command respect and even admiration. But if we fully consider, not only how the historians of past times copied from one another without independent research, but still more, how the original facts have been distorted and coloured by the channels through which they have come down to us, we shall at least perceive that a great deal has to be done before we can get at the truth. We must gratefully admit that a great deal has been done, but we are quite mistaken if we fancy that any one generation of men can claim to say that they were "born to set it right." To recover the whole truth is a slow process ; but there is movement. Specialization, division of labour, multiplication of Societies, and international rivalry in literature, are working many changes.

It was thought for example a great feat not long ago to make a fresh and careful study of the monastic annalists who were so scornfully treated by the writers of the last century ; but the original documents which tell us the very facts, independently of the monastic colouring, have only recently been brought to light ; nor were the numerous side-lights thrown by contemporary writers observed as they have been since by several authors. The first fruits of the new harvest are being reaped and stored by some of the writers of the numerous little books forming the various historical series which have become the fashion, and by some of the compilers of the small histories for schools ; and I think I may also claim for the University Schools of Modern History, both of Oxford and Cambridge, that they are gradually concentrating into a focus the various rays of light which are forcing their way through the darkness. Before long, as I said about the history of *Oxford*, the man will arise to whom public opinion will willingly delegate the task of putting the history of *England*, from beginning to end, into a proper shape—fair and honest, bright and readable shape, for the next generation.

But much of the coming man's material is yet to be discovered. The Historical MSS. Commission has not by any means completed its valuable labours. The trifling amount of money annually placed at the disposal of the Record Office is forcing an able and energetic body of officials to be deplorably slow in the publication of its

invaluable deposits. If I may mention one of its most important treasures, in which I am particularly interested, the Gascon Rolls—a mass of documents which when published, will, I believe, cause a marked difference in the treatment of English history—has been hitherto left to the energy of the French, with scarcely any aid from England; and only in the current year do the difficulties attending a joint enterprise of this sort, such as is now contemplated, show decided signs of a solution. The truth is that while no country possesses richer stores of documentary literature, few spend less money upon making use of them. Buried in the recesses of the Record Office, they are almost useless. Few countries have made such efforts in the cause of national education, but they have not been accompanied with the proper corollary, a generous expenditure on the means of providing the teachers of the schoolmasters and mistresses with the materials which would raise the standard of historical education to its proper height. Some fifty years ago Sir Thomas Duffus Hardy and his friends did, as we all know, persuade the Government of the day into the exercise of a wise and noble liberality in these matters; and the great collections they produced during a very few years (the *Inquisitiones post mortem* and the rest) have been the foundation of every archæological effort of an historical kind which has been made since. But how distressing is it to remember that the Government became so terrified at the expense of these publications that they were summarily and almost immediately stopped! There they stand on our shelves, like some time-worn monument of a former age, the evidence of a generation of giants who lightly threw a rock which it would require more “than ten strong men of this degenerate age” even to lift. I am glad to be able to announce that there are signs of a more liberal treatment of this subject on the part of the Government, and certainly in the one case of the Gascon Rolls; but if it is to display itself generally, depend upon it the call must come from such Societies as this, and from a change in public opinion which will have to be created by your efforts.

These are the considerations which seem to me to deserve a place at an archæological meeting, believing, as I

do, that your Society does not profess to rest satisfied with excursions and with mere interchange of opinion, but that it has for its object the solid growth and progress of its subject. Nothing short of this could justify the existence and position of such a Society. At least so it seems to one who has no claim to any previous connection with it, and who owes the privilege of being allowed to address you on this occasion to the circumstance that your Council did him the honour to ask him to become one of your Vice-Presidents.

It has come to be a common formula, when a discussion is barren of practical results, to call it "academical." Let me hope that I have left upon my hearers the impression that the relation of Oxford to archæology is not only truly academical, but eminently practical.

INAUGURAL ADDRESS OF SIR JOHN DORINGTON, BART.,
M.P., TO THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE INSTITUTE,
HELD AT GLOUCESTER.¹

I have the pleasure of thanking the Institute for the great honour they have done me in accepting my services as their president for this meeting, and in so doing conferring a distinction not only on the humble individual who addresses you, but also indirectly on the Archæological Society, of which I am a past president; a great distinction in itself, and to which no doubt I owe the suffrages which have placed me in this chair.

My own Society, the Gloucestershire Society, has now left fourteen years of useful life behind it, duly recorded in its annual volume, and in those pages, and in the pages of the still older Society, the Cotswold Naturalists, who occasionally threw a little dash of romance into their more prosaic pursuits, by diving into the history of the works of man, instead of into the construction of the rocks, those who are strangers to Gloucestershire, to whom we heartily bid welcome, may read a very large amount of our Gloucestershire archæological lore.

I hope those present will criticise our productions, will bring to our assistance their wider and perhaps more trained experience, whilst we, the *αὐτοχθόνες*, if I may so call ourselves, point out to what the attention of our visitors in this country had best be directed, and when they, after the long journeys they contemplate making, are wearied with following our lead, that they will draw us aside from local lore to the world-wide fields which Archæology seeks to till.

What is the Archæology that my present audience is seeking for? Is it ecclesiastical architecture of any period? We have it of all periods from the rude and early Saxon at Deerhurst to the most

¹ Delivered August 12th, 1890.

modern and successful church at Highnam, and in the Cathedral close by, we see how each generation of men has appropriated the materials, and adapted the forms of preceding generations to what they themselves desired, and which desires they doubtless described at the time, and fully believed to be, the highest and most successful efforts of good taste.

The small low church, perhaps the present crypt, the kernel of the Abbey, built on the vacant grounds just within the city bounds, gradually extends itself westward, and, wanting room, crosses over and appropriates the Roman walls, and rears its lofty columns with the stones cut by the Roman masons eight hundred years before. Massive solidity is the dominant style, which gradually passes onwards into lighter forms, until, at last, the Church becoming the last resting-place of a murdered king, wealth beyond count is poured into the Cathedral treasury by countless pilgrims to the shrine, and the, to the then taste, too solid walls and columns are shaved down to fit the network of exuberant tracery which was thrown over them as a veil, and the lofty tower sprung to the sky crowned by such battlements and pinnacles as are scarcely to be seen elsewhere. I will not attempt to give an architectural history of the Abbey Church. That is, or should be, a subject for itself, and with these few words I leave this splendid monument of the past to the leisured criticism of the society.

Is it the history of our land as shown by its houses, by its castles, by its forts? We have a rich mine for you to draw upon. Nowhere in England that I know of is there such an abundance of small houses, such as the freeholders and gentry of the Jacobean, Elizabethan, Tudor, and earlier times lived in, strong in the excellent stone with which they were both built and roofed, picturesque in their outlines and perfectly adaptable to modern use. Prinknash, The Court House, Painswick, Moor Hall, Thorougham, Upper Slaughter, Catswood, Middle Lypiatt, Chavenage, Owlpen, and, I may add, my own house are well-known examples.

In this city very numerous half-timbered houses will attract your attention, amongst which not the least remarkable is the New Inn, still the New Inn,¹ al-

though built in 1450. A parchment roll belonging to the Corporation of Gloucester, enumerating the houses in the town in 1455, states that in Northgate Street, next to the house owned by Sibilla Hariet, and occupied by Matilda Perkin, butcher, "The Abbot of St. Peter of Gloucester holds in fee a great and new inn called the New Inn, lately built from the foundations by the praiseworthy man John Twinning, monk of the same place, for the great emolument and profit of the same and of their successors." This house is nearly of the date when Chaucer describes his party setting out from the old Tabard, and when the members of this society visit it, as no doubt they will, the old welcome might not come amiss :—

Now lordlings truly
Ye be to me welcome right heartily ;
For by my troth, if that I shall not lie,
I saw not this yeare such a compagny
At once in this hostelrie as is now.
Fain would I do you mirth, an I knew how.

And then the landlord throws out the suggestion to this party about to set out on a pilgrimage, just as we are going to begin a pilgrimage to morrow round Gloucestershire :—

"This is the point to speke it plat and plain,
That each of you to shorten with your ways
In thisen voyage shall tallen tales twa,
And which of you shall bear him best of alle
Shall have a supper at your aller cost
Here, in this place sitting by this post."

A wonderful survival of the past. Even the post is there. No change in name, no change in use, the only change, the change inevitable to all and incessantly going on is the constant change and renewal of the individuals by whom the business of life is carried on. You will notice the picturesque court with open galleries running round. The doors opening into the bedchambers lead directly from these galleries. Each guest may be said to have his own front door, and twining creepers would almost lead one to believe that sunnier climes than ours favoured the sojourners beneath its roofs.

Were such inns modelled on a foreign form or were our ancestors a hardier race? It is probable that this New Inn was in its architecture no exception

to the general form, for in an old drawing of Hogarth's I have seen the same galleries represented surrounding the courtyard of the formerly well-known Ram Inn, at Cirencester, once one of the great posting-houses of the county, but now passed away; long ago, however, remodelled from the aspect which Hogarth has preserved to us into a more prosaic form. Perhaps some enquiry might show us in other places some few lingering types of this New and yet old English Inn.

I have alluded to a parchment roll, and given from it the names of the adjacent occupiers to this Inn, in 1455, and it may be worth while to direct further attention to this most curious document, which has been permitted to be published by the Corporation of Gloucester, and has just been issued to the subscribers.

It professes to be a Rental of all the houses in Gloucester, compiled by Robert Cole, a Canon of Llanthony, who described himself as a "Renter" of Gloucester. What this means is not quite clear; whatever he was, here is preserved to us the names of the occupants and owners of each house in each street in Gloucester, in regular order, like a modern street list, starting from the cross and going sometimes down one side and back the other, and sometimes taking the two sides in parallel columns, the houses facing as it were one another.

By this we learn that where our County Shirehall now stands Thomas Butler holds the next tenement with appurtenances towards the Bothal (*sic*), where John Furber and William Granger dwell, which Hugh, of King's Hall, held in the reign of Henry III., Edward the Taverner, in the time of Edward I., and Edward Taverner, jun., in the time of Edward II. And he renders for land gavel 4s. 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ d. Also that the community of Gloucester hold a tenement called the Bothalle (*sic*) or the Gildhall for holding the pleas of our Lord the King; and there is an inn which Philip Fleet, draper, holds there by deed, for which tenement called the Bothalle they rendered in the times of Henry III. and Edward I. 31 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. There is an inn there now. The pleas of the Crown were held in the Booth Hall down to 1828, when the present Shirehall was built, and this ancient place of public meeting

remains a large public-room attached to the inn, which still remains as a licensed house.

I began by attempting to indicate what of interest you might find in this county, and I must not linger longer within the walls of this fair city. The hills which surround it and look down upon it are full of history, the history of races which in succession have been dominant in this district. This history must be dug for, sought for with intelligence and perseverance. But given this care and intelligence we may, by some exercise of our imagination, fill up the gaps and realise in some manner that history to which too often we only give names and dates and nothing more.

The earliest condition of the county that we can realise is an upland district, not too heavily timbered to be habitable, but sufficiently so to provide firing and shelter, and having a soil suited for pasturage, and over which it was always possible to travel in those roadless days.

Consequently we find over the Cotswolds abundant traces of the ancient races. The long-headed and the round-headed men have studded our hills with their tombs, pitted the surface with their hut dwellings, strewn the ground with their flint implements, and perhaps crowned the crests with their forts. None of these traces are found in the vale. Why? The space between the hills and the Severn was soft land, impassable without well-made roads, cut up by streams descending from the hills, which, dammed up and blocked by fallen timber, formed wide morasses, and rendered the whole vale country unfit for habitation. Along the edge of the Severn some fishermen probably found a livelihood, and Glevum, the predecessor of Gloucester, lying in flat ground below the hillock on which Gloucester now stands, was probably mainly a fishing village, possessing also the advantage of the first easy ferry over Severn. How unsuited it was for permanent occupation is, I think, proved by its disappearance and the removal of the city to another site. The Romans, however, found it of sufficient importance to make it the point of direction for their great road from Cirencester, which, descending from the hills, may be seen running straight as an arrow for some six miles to apparently no place at all, and then, turning at a right angle for about half a mile, reaches the

modern city—the little mound of rising ground which the Romans took for their camp, outside of which Glevum was situated, about the district now called Kingsholm, on the north of the present Gloucester.

The camp of Glevum absorbed the old town and became the outpost of the Roman line, supported by the chain of posts on almost every headland of the Cotswolds which looks down upon it. Cirencester was the headquarter station, and there and in the surrounding country Roman civilisation safely developed itself, and later on when the Roman posts were advanced to Caerleon, Chepstow, and the Wye, Gloucester itself became the headquarter military station and Cirencester the more purely civil town.

It is difficult for us now, separated by so many centuries from that period, and perhaps still more divided from it by the sweeping devastation caused by the invasion of the West Saxons in A.D. 577, in which Bath and probably Cirencester also disappeared for a time as inhabited towns, to realise the height of civilisation which this country had reached then. If we put aside the advantages we now have resulting from the modern use of steam and electricity, there is nothing we enjoy which the inhabitants of that period did not possess. Towns splendidly built, houses richly adorned, country society as plentiful as now; the mansions of the rich at least as large as the largest which now exists; good roads linking all-parts of the country together—such indications as these cannot fail to lead us to believe that a condition of society must have prevailed for some two hundred years, and perhaps for more, at least as active and cultivated as that which now exists. The amphitheatre at Cirencester, the ranges of stables at Chedworth, the vast area of the great hall at Woodchester, the charming situations selected for such villas as Witcomb and many others must force upon our attention the fact that centuries ago, when we were Roman, we lived and consorted together in much the same sort of way that we do now, and perhaps we had even a greater idea of our importance in the body politic than we have now, and not without some reason, considering the leading importance of such towns as Bath, Cirencester, and Gloucester at that time.

A few years ago I was able to bring to the notice

of our county society a singular proof of the desolation caused by the Saxon invasion in the shape of a charter of Æthelbald's, A.D. 740, granting to the monks of Worcester the ground about Woodchester, describing it as a forest, and giving boundaries which can at least in part be identified. These boundaries include the site of the Woodchester Villa, which at that time, 170 years after the battle of Dyrham, had ceased apparently to be known, and had been absorbed in the natural growth of forest. We can hardly imagine now such a disappearance of one of our largest country mansions, except by intentional demolition, which certainly was not the end of the Roman houses, for the relics found, the pavements, the furniture, the money, forbid the forming of any other idea than that of sudden disaster, and the removal and destruction of the population to whom they belonged. Twenty-four Roman villas have been described with more or less particularity as existing in Gloucestershire, exclusive of such houses as have been found in the towns of Cirencester and Gloucester, where remains are numerous. How many more there may be buried beneath the ground waiting the lucky chance, as at Chedworth, of a lost ferret, and the consequent digging for him by his owner, the rabbit, for its discovery, who can tell? One hundred and twelve camps, not all however Roman, nineteen distinct main roads, make up a goodly catalogue of relics of a past civilization.

Why do I mention these things? Not for the purpose of merely making a catalogue, but for the purpose of enabling such of my audience as have not considered the matter before, to realise that in gazing at any one of these relics of the past we are not dealing with an isolated curiosity but with a whole class, which remains to us as evidence that, in the making of Britain, it has not been all growth, but that there have been ebbs and flows in our progress.

The civilization of the Roman period was far superior, if we may trust the evidences we possess, to that which we have enjoyed at any subsequent period down to Elizabethan times. It was Roman in name and in style, but it was the civilization which they implanted in the people amongst whom the Romans came as a

dominant race. I do not believe that the soft inhabitant of Italian climes built or inhabited as his own the numerous houses that we find. The example was set no doubt by the chief officers of the armies that came here. The British provincial, in the long years between Julius Cæsar (55 B.C.), and the withdrawal of the Romans, a space of four hundred years, as long a time as now separates us from the reign of Henry VII., had become himself educated in all that knowledge and refinement which Rome could give him. The whole population had absorbed the same ideas, and the houses which we see, and the relics which we find are the houses and relics of our British predecessors in a long-past Elizabethan or even Georgian age.

Their literature, which they must have possessed, has been blotted out by the four hundred or even eight hundred years of comparative barbarism which followed, and so we know nothing of their ways and manners, and we are only too prone to imagine that this civilization was the civilization of an alien people instead of that of our own race.

One record alone we have, besides the brief notice in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, of how this civilization was wiped out. It is the ode of Llywarch Hen, called the Death Song of Kendelann, one of the three kings who perished at the battle of Dyrham. It is published in the Bardes Bretons of the Vicomte de la Villemarque, and from the fragments I have seen is very spirited. The verses describe how the army of the Franks had triumphed, and departs to carry elsewhere desolation and death.

Y dref wen yn y dyfrynt
Lawen y byddair wrth gynanrud kad ;
Ei gwerin neur derynt ?

The White City of the valley would rejoice at the termination of the fortunate fight (but) its inhabitants—are they returned ?

The enemy gone, the night is come, then is seen among the ruins made a coffin in a roofless hall. Piercing cries reach the bard. The cries are the voice of the eagle of the mountain, red with the blood of Kendelann and with that of other warriors. The bard accompanies the body to

the grave, and there there are other victims from the city of White Walls ; which is commonly identified with Sherston, on the borders of this county. The poet prepares to fly, knowing that the church will soon be given to the flames by the Saxon, whose lance he seems already to feel. He addresses the daughters of England, whom he summons to behold the country in flames:—"Oh, sister of Kendelann, what unhappiness, what anguish this night. They trampled not with impunity upon the cradle of Kendelann, he drew back not one footstep, his mother had not nursed a degenerateson. But henceforth for us there is no refuge than the cover of the thick woods, where hunger reduces us to the state of the wild boar, unearthing the roots of wild plants."

Such seems to have been the actual condition of the country, wasted and destroyed for about 200 years. Then we begin again to get scanty records, and some few fragments of architecture begin to appear in buildings which have lasted down to our day.

How far can we realize this long past history of our race, and re-produce in some intelligible form from the relics that we find our nation's life? Written records of the far-distant past do not exist. No British historians tell us how a Caractacus or a Boadicea summoned a nation to arms to resist the invader. But we know the command *was* obeyed, and how—and we may at least as archæologists assert this—that a people who could coin gold, and who could place in the field of battle such chariots, and in such numbers, as the Britons are stated by the Romans to have done, were no mere barbarians, such as too often in history they are represented to have been, but that they were far advanced in civilization, and an ancestry of whom we may be proud.

Ideas such as these may be the romance of archæology, but it must be the very end and aim of archæology to provide the materials to turn the romance into hard prosaic fact.

The desires of mankind have always been the same ; the direction in which those desires sought their gratification have always depended on the opportunities which the degree of civilization mankind had attained to, afforded to them.

The archæologist, in the absence of written records, can alone supply to the historian the information which is necessary, and draw the proper inferences; and no such work as John Richard Green's " Making of England " was possible until the conditions under which men lived in early days had been disclosed by the pick and the shovel, by the patent deciphering of dusty records, and the diligent compiling of remote facts. It is for us to emulate the work of past discoverers, and, by raising higher the superstructure, the foundations of which they have laid broad and strong, to do our part in illustrating and elucidating the history of our race.

GLOUCESTER CIVIC INSIGNIA : WITH NOTES ON MACES OF THE TIME OF THE COMMONWEALTH.¹

By W. H. St. JOHN HOPE, M.A.

The insignia of the city of Gloucester, if they do not make such a brave display as those of Bristol, or Norwich, or Southampton, or Hull, have a special interest of their own which, so far as I know, is not shared by the insignia of any other city or town of Great Britain. This special interest lies in the fact that although within the last four centuries the maces have been re-fashioned as many times, by an exceptional chain of evidence we are able not only to indicate the several maces possessed by the city from time to time, but we actually have representations showing their form and ornaments. The city sword, too, by no means presents to us its original appearance, yet in this case also we could, if necessary, reproduce various ornaments that have been superseded by those now adorning it.

That the city of Gloucester is one of the most important and historically interesting of our cities is a matter of common knowledge. It is mentioned as a borough in Domesday Book, but its first charter of definite municipal privileges was not granted until the reign of Henry II., probably about the year 1155. By a charter of King John granted in 1200, and confirmed by Henry III. in 1227, the government of the town was vested in two bailiffs or provosts. By Richard III. a new charter was granted in 1483, by which the town was declared to be a county of and by itself, and its governing body was ordained to be a mayor, two sheriffs, and other officers. By Henry VIII., upon the creation of the bishopric of Gloucester, the town was raised to the rank of a city. The early charters were confirmed and enlarged from time to time, the last one previous to that of

¹ Read at Gloucester, August 14th, 1890.

the Reform of 1835 being one granted in 1672 by Charles II., under which the Corporation consisted of a mayor and eleven other aldermen, an indefinite number of common councillors, not to exceed forty, a recorder, two sheriffs, a coroner, town clerk, chamberlain, sword-bearer, four sergeants-at-mace, a water-bailiff, provost-marshal, and other officers.

Of the time when maces were first borne before the bailiffs of Gloucester we have no record, but such a practice had become common generally before the middle of the fourteenth century, for in 1344 the Parliament passed an Act to restrain all sergeants save the King's from carrying maces tipped with silver, and ordained that they should carry "maces tipped with copper only and of no other metal, and wooden staves as they were wont to carry in olden times." Maces were, however, certainly used in Gloucester as early as 1429, for in that year, by a composition made between the abbey and the town, it was agreed amongst other things that the sergeants-at-mace should carry their maces before the bailiffs into the abbey church. At this time I think there can be little doubt that there were two maces only, one for each bailiff. By the charter of Richard III., granted in 1483, the number of sergeants was increased to four, the two who had formerly preceded the bailiffs being now assigned to the newly-created mayor, and the other two to precede the newly-appointed sheriffs. We now see why Gloucester has four maces, for the four sergeants each carried one, two being borne before the mayor, and one before each sheriff. The case of Gloucester also serves well to explain why some cities and towns have four maces, some two, and others only one. Where a mayor and sheriffs have succeeded two bailiffs there are usually four maces; when a mayor only takes the place of two bailiffs we often find two maces; and one mace implies either, as in the case of London, that there has been a mayor from the first, or, as at Derby, that the two bailiffs' maces were made into one on the creation of the mayoralty. I need not here discuss such exceptional cases as the eight maces of Bristol, where the mayor was preceded by four sergeants and each sheriff by two.

What the earliest Gloucester maces were like there is no evidence to show, but they probably did not differ much from the first of which we have any actual representation. This brings us to the interesting part of my story.

In 1564 the city of Gloucester caused to be made a new common seal. Its device consists chiefly of a large shield of the extraordinary arms granted by Christopher Barker, Garter, in 1538 ; but on each side of this shield is depicted a pair of the city maces. Although they barely exceed five-eighths of an inch in length, these small figures enable us clearly to understand the general type and form of the originals, which could not have differed much from the beautiful contemporary maces at Winchcomb.

In addition to the 1564 seal, two other representatives of the early maces exist.

The first is on part of Blackfriars, built by Sir Thomas Bell shortly after his purchase of the buildings in 1539, and consists of a shield bearing two crossed maces. Bell was twice mayor of Gloucester, and so there was no impropriety in his setting up a shield with the two maces that were borne before him ; they differ somewhat in form from those on the 1564 seal, and may represent an earlier pair of maces.

The other representation of the maces is an exceedingly interesting one. In the south aisle of St. Nicholas' church is the tomb of John Walton, alderman of Gloucester, who died in 1625. Over the tomb is a shield of the city arms granted by Barker in 1538, but differenced by the substitution of a pair of crossed maces for the city sword and sword-bearer's hat on the pale. These maces closely resemble those on the 1564 seal, and may, I think, be taken as evidence of these particular maces having continued in use until at least 1626. Shortly afterwards, I have not yet been able to find the exact year, four new maces were made ; the old maces were then disused, and in 1642 were sold, with the old mayoralty seal and various pieces of the city plate, and the money spent in strengthening the city fortifications.

Although the new maces in their turn no longer exist, a fortunate accident enables us to say what they were like

In the cathedral church of Gloucester, at the west end of the south aisle of the nave, is an alabaster monument, rich with painting and gilding, to alderman John Jones, who was mayor in 1597, 1618, and 1625, and died in 1630. On each side of the monument is a small bracket, and on each bracket stands, carved in alabaster, a pair of the city maces. These had semi-globular crested heads, and plain shafts divided midway by encircling bands; and were not unlike the contemporary maces at Brecon, Cowbridge, Cardiff, and other places not far distant.

The maces shown on alderman Jones's monument we learn from the city accounts for 1651-2 to have been sent to London in that year to be re-made. The bill, as entered in the accounts, amounted to £85 5s., but as some alterations of the city sword are included in this, we cannot tell what the re-fashioning of the maces actually cost.

We must, however, now diverge a little from the history of the Gloucester maces to see why they were re-fashioned in 1652.

On the establishment of the Commonwealth after the King's murder in 1648-9, the Commons ordered a new mace to be made in place of that usually borne before the Speaker. The making of the mace was entrusted to Thomas Maundy, a London goldsmith, and on June 6th, 1649, the new mace was brought in and shown to the House. It was evidently received with great satisfaction, for the Commons proceeded to make the following order:

“Ordered

That this Mace made by Thomas Maundy of London Goldsmith be delivered into the Charge of the Serjant at Armes attending the Parliament and that the said Mace be carried before the Speaker, and that all other great Maces to be used in this Commonwealth be made according to the same forme and Paterne, and that the said Thomas Maundy having the making thereof and none other.”

The mace made by Maundy continued in use till April 20th, 1653, when Cromwell so unceremoniously dissolved the Long Parliament, and bid one of his soldiers “Take away that fool's bauble.” Several corporate bodies

claim to possess the identical mace thus removed, but, as a matter of fact, within a few days of the establishment of the so-called Barebones Parliament on July 4th, 1653, it was again brought out, and continued to be borne before the Speaker by the sergeant-at-arms as of old. At the Restoration in 1660 a new mace was ordered to be provided for the House "with the Crowne and King's Majestie's Armes, and such other Ornaments as have bin usuall," and the famous "bauble" thus became a thing of the past. So at least we should imagine. On examining, however, the present mace of the House of Commons, which the Speaker most kindly allowed me to do only a week ago, I found that the shaft and knots are unmistakeably Thomas Maundy's work, with a new head and base made in 1660, and so the "bauble" is practically still borne before the Speaker.

Owing to the fortunate circumstance that all other great maces in the kingdom had been ordered to be made "according to the same forme and Paterne" as the Parliament mace we know exactly what it was like originally. In form it closely resembled the large crowned maces of which so many examples exist; it had a staff divided by knots, and surmounted by a head of the usual type encircled by a coronet with an arched crown. But it was in the pattern of these that it differed so completely from a royal mace. The coronet consisted, not of the regal crosses and fleurs-de-lis, but of an intertwined cable enclosing small cartouches with the arms of England and Ireland; and instead of a jewelled circlet there was often a band with raised letters which read: "THE FREEDOME OF ENGLAND BY GOD'S BLESSING RESTORED," with the date of the making of the mace. Instead of the jewelled or beaded arches of the crown, four gracefully-curved members, adorned with oak foliage, met in the centre and supported, not the time-honoured orb and cross, but a handsome sort of cushion surmounted by an acorn. The head was divided as before into panels by caryatides, but the royal badges were replaced by the arms of England and Ireland in oval cartouches. The knots of the staff were wrought in spirally-laid gadroons, and

the staff itself chased throughout with branches of oak or other foliage running longitudinally and encircled by a narrow spiral ribbon. The knop forming the base was also wrought with the arms of England and Ireland. The corporations of Weymouth, Marlborough, and East Retford, still possess maces showing all these characteristics. I have omitted mention of one point, viz., that the arms on the top were no longer the royal arms, but those of "the State." These have been in almost every case replaced by the royal arms, as in the examples cited; a small mace belonging to the city of Coventry still, however, retains them unaltered.

We will now resume the history of the Gloucester maces. That the order of Parliament concerning the new fashioning of "all other great maces" was obeyed in many places, we know not only from the maces themselves but from the entries in the minute and account books recording the circumstances. Occasionally, as at London and Leicester, we get very full particulars of the re-making of the maces, in each case by Thomas Maundy, who, as we have seen, enjoyed the monopoly of making them. The Gloucester maces were also re-made at this time, as I have already said, but the accounts refer to payments to "Mr. Alderman Vyner, of London," and not to Thomas Maundy. It was, however, these very Gloucester maces that first opened my eyes to the peculiar characteristics by which the Commonwealth maces can be identified, for the spirally gadrooned knots, the ribbon-entwined oak stems on the shafts, and the arms of England and Ireland on the foot-knops, clearly belong to the maces of 1651-2, as do parts of the head; and one pair bears the mayor's name and the date 1652. Moreover, two of the maces bear a maker's mark formed of a letter M surmounted by a T, which is assuredly the mark of Thomas Maundy, for a similar one also occurs on the Leicester mace, which the accounts show to have been made by him in 1650. When the Monarchy was restored in 1660 those corporations who had altered their maces in conformity with the order of 1649 proceeded to convert them again into royal maces. Some by merely replacing the State's arms by the royal arms; some by making the mace entirely anew; while others were content to substitute the royal crown and badges for the non-regal devices

of the Commonwealth. The city of Gloucester, like the House of Commons, chose the last course, and in the council minutes for 13th June, 1660, when Toby Jordan was mayor, we find the following entry: "It is agreed at this house that the Sword and Maces that are carryed before Mr. Maior shall be altered at the charges of the chamber, and that Mr. Mayor do cause the same to be done to the best advantage of the chamber." Two of the maces so altered bear the name of Toby Jordan, and the date 1660. All four maces, however, underwent conversion, for the Chamberlain's accounts for 1659-60 contain a payment of £74 1s.: "Payd for 4 new maces and for altering the scabbard of the best sword over and above the summe allowed for the old Maces and Sword as appears by Mr. Cuthbertes note a goldsmith in London." To call the maces "new" was not correct, for although they received new royal crowns, and the royal badges were substituted for the arms of England and Ireland, in other respects they were substantially the maces made in 1651-2. Since 1660, with the exception of repeated and occasionally needless re-gilding, the maces have remained unaltered, and may they long continue to be borne before the Mayor and Sheriff of Gloucester.

The right of the Mayor of Gloucester to have a sword carried before him was specially conferred by the charter of Richard III. in 1483.

The sword then provided was probably that now known as "the mourning sword." The blade is of Solingen or Passau make, with the wolf or fox mark, and the hilt has curved quillons and a disk-shaped pomel embossed with a rose on each side. The whole is, however, now painted black, which conceals the workmanship. The scabbard is covered with black velvet embroidered with black silk. On the upper part are on one side the city arms, on the other a crowned rose; the central ornaments are floral devices, and the chape has on both sides a floral device with the date 1677, in which year the city swords were repaired at a cost of £1 8s. 6d.

The next sword that the city possessed cannot now be found, and all trace of it seems to be lost. It was in existence when Rudder published his *New History of Gloucestershire* in 1779, for he describes it as being

adorned with the figure of Queen Elizabeth and "E.R. 1574," and with the city arms as then borne.

The third "sword of state" was perhaps obtained in 1627, when Charles I. gave leave to the city to appoint a sword-bearer "who shall carry before the mayor a sword with a coloured sheath bearing our arms and those of the city aforesaid or otherwise adorned." A careful and full-sized representation of this sword is carved on the monument of alderman Jones, already referred to. It has a flattened circular gilt pommel with the royal arms within the garter and crowned, with supporters; the grip is shown as covered with gilt wire, and the cross guard is ornamented with a large scallop shell. Owing to the sword being laid on its edge only one quillon was shown, and this has been broken off and lost. The sheath is painted red, with a gold band along the edges, and is divided into three sections by gilt bands or locketts carved in relief. The first of these bears a figure of Justice; the second a king on horseback; and the third, a half-effigy of a king. The chape has a draped female figure, and ends in a crown. In each of the three divisions are two roses and two fleurs-de-lis placed alternately.

Now this carved representation would in itself be interesting if it merely showed us one side of the sword in use during the second quarter of the seventeenth century; but it does more than that, for there can be no doubt that we have here a careful representation of a former and original condition of the sword of state still borne before the Mayor of Gloucester. Of the original sword there remains the Solingen blade, with the gold inlaid wolf-mark of the maker, and the hilt with its pommel and quillons. The sides of the pommel bear the royal arms of Charles II. and the city arms of 1652. The sheath is covered with crimson velvet, and the uppermost locket retains on one side the figure of Justice as shown on the monument. The other side originally bore an inscription, but this has been erased, and instead of it is engraved a later one: *Gloucester*
 | *Toby Jordan* | *Esqr Maior* | *Anno Regni* | *Regis Car*
2d XII | *Annoq Domi* | 1660. The other ornaments of the sheath do not correspond with those on the monument;

thus, the second locket has on one side the royal arms, etc., in a circle between an oak tree above and the city arms below, and on the other side a cartouche with the city arms; and the third locket has the king riding over a fallen foe on one side, and on the other the king erect and in armour and brandishing his sword. The chape ends in a cruciform ornament instead of the crown, and is wrought with a figure of Fame on one side, and with a fully-armed female figure on the other. The interspaces of the sheath have, instead of the roses and fleurs-de lis, the royal badges of the House of Stuart, a rose, thistle, harp, and fleur-de-lis, severally crowned. We learn from the accounts that in 1652 the sword was sent to London to be altered, *i.e.*, stripped of all emblems of royalty. It may be seen, however, from the Jones monument that the hilt and figure of Justice on the first locket were retained. What then replaced the other ornaments we cannot tell. In 1660 the sword was again sent to London and altered to its present state by Mr. Cuthbert, a goldsmith in Cheapside. The workmanship of the new bands is, however, much inferior to that which contains the figure of Justice.

ROMAN ANTIQUITIES OF THE MIDDLE RHINE.

By BUNNELL LEWIS, M.A., F.S.A.

(Continued.)

The Mithraic Tablet is unquestionably the most remarkable object in the museum at Wiesbaden. English travellers have noticed it, but, as far as I am aware, they have not published any detailed account hitherto. This monument was brought from Heddernheim (Hetternheim in Baedeker's Map, Oestlicher Taunus), a place about half way between Frankfort and Homburg, but East of the direct line, where many antiquities have been found, which, however, have been removed, so that a visit to the locality would be labour in vain. It is scarcely necessary to enlarge now upon the worship of Mithras, as much has been written about it, both by our own countrymen and by foreign savants. But I may be allowed to observe that there are two circumstances which make it interesting to us, Several memorials of this cult have been found in England, some of which are preserved at York; ¹ and so many allusions to it are made by the early Fathers, that it has come to be inseparably connected with ecclesiastical history. In fact we may infer from the express statements of Tertullian and the acrimonious spirit in which he writes, that this system was a very formidable

¹ See a descriptive account of the Antiquities in the grounds and in the museum of the Yorkshire Philosophical Society by the Rev. Charles Wellbeloved, 5th edition, pp. 110-112, No. V. A. sculptured tablet representing the sacrifice and mysteries of Mithras: a full explanation is subjoined. Comp. the Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society giving some account of the present undertakings, studies, and labours of the ingenious in many considerable parts of the world, vol. xlv, for the years 1749 and 1750, No. 493, vi. Bas-relief of Mithras found at York described by the Rev. Dr. Stukeley, F.R.S. Bruce,

Roman wall, altars to Mithras, and Mithraic Tablet, esp. p. 127 sq.; 393 sq., with woodcuts. Lapidar. Septentr., Indices at the end of the vol., § I, names and attributes of Deities, s.v. Mithras, Sol and Apollo. Corp. Inscr. Lat., Britannia, Indices, cap. V, Res sacrae, § I, Dii Deae Heroes, p. 331, 1st and 2nd columns, deus Mitra Cantus Pates Sol invictus, &c.

We have evidence that the worship of Mithras prevailed also in the part of Gaul nearest to our own shores. Monsr. V.-J. Vaillant of Boulogne informed me that a Mithreum had been discovered in that town.



FRONT OF MITHRAIC TABLET AT WIESBADEN.



BACK OF MITHRAIC TABLET AT WIESBADEN.

antagonist to the Gospel. He says that the devil who perverts the truth imitates the divine sacraments by mysterious rites, baptizes devotees, promises remission of sins, counterfeits the resurrection, and offers the crown of martyrdom.¹ Our theme reminds us that in like manner the Suabian peasant ascribed to the agency of the Dæmon a rampart, on which he gazed with ignorant admiration—the Roman boundary-wall that extended from the Rhine to the Danube.²

The British Museum possesses two groups belonging to the class now under consideration, very similar to each other, but differing in a few particulars. On the other hand, the bas-relief at Wiesbaden, though the principal figures (Hauptbild) are the same as we have in London, presents many additional details, which deserve attention, and are in some cases not easy to explain.³

The Mithrasbild, as the Germans call it, stood originally in a sanctuary, consisting of a nave and two side aisles, twelve mètres five cent. long, and eight mètres sixteen cent. broad; it occupied the choir, in which there was just room enough for it to turn on a pivot, which was necessary that the congregation might be able to see the sculptures on both sides. So placed it corresponded nearly with the altar-piece of a church.⁴

We have here a central compartment containing the chief subject, and a frame round it. Mithras, with flying mantle, has leaped on a bull, his left hand seizes the animal's nostrils, his right pierces its neck with a sword. A dog springs up to help his master, and lick the

¹ Tertullian, De præscriptione hæreticorum, cap. xl, edit. Oehler, tom. ii, p. 38 (Diabolus) ipas quoque res sacramentorum divinatorum idolorum mysteriis æmuletur. Tingit et ipse quosdam, utique credentes et fideles suos; expositionem (var.lect. expiationem) delictorum de lavacro repromittit.

² Gibbon, chap. xii, vol. ii, p. 47, edit. Smith. The Pfahlgraben by Thomas Hodgkin, 1882, p. 6 sq. "In most of the earlier part of its course the wall is known by the name of *Teufelsmauer* (Devil's Wall.) Afterwards, that is from Weissenburg westwards, it is more often called the *Pfahl* or the *Pfahlrain*." Then follows a notice of traditions about mysterious horses and riders, together

with legends concerning the diabolical origin of the wall and visits from the Evil One.

³ Sir H. Ellis, Townley Gallery, vol. i, chap. vi, pp. 282-289 with illustrations—an excellent article containing many references in the foot notes.

⁴ Annalen des Vereins für Nassauische Altertumskunde und Geschichtsforschung. Zwanzigster Band, II Heft, 1888. Führer durch das Altertums-Museum zu Wiesbaden von A. V. Cohausen. Raum iii, pp. 213-216, Nos. 1-11, Tafel V. Den vornehmsten Platz des Raumes iii nimmt das Mithraeum ein. This engraving is small and inadequate; I exhibited a photograph of the Tablet on a much larger scale, taken expressly, and well executed.

blood issuing from the wound. The bull's tail ends in three ears of corn, which, in one of the groups at the British Museum, appear on his body close to the incision. Hence there can be little doubt that the vivifying power of the sun, agriculture, and especially the fertility caused by ploughing are here represented. On the mantle a raven perches, perhaps with reference to divination, as the bird was sacred to Apollo, the god of prophecy; and we learn from Porphyry that the priests of Mithras were called ravens.¹ Under the bull are a vase, scorpion and serpent, which a small lion is calmly looking at. On each side of the principal figures stands a youth wearing the Phrygian bonnet, like Atys, Paris or Mithras in the scene before us—a proof that the cult was Oriental in its origin—and holding a torch upright or inverted. As Mithras was the invincible sun-god, so these two accessories may be reasonably explained to symbolize Day and Night. On the spectator's right, a tree rises immediately behind the torch; round its stem a snake is coiled, while his head projects from amidst the foliage. Our thoughts naturally revert to the Mosaic account of our first Parents' Fall, the Tree of Life, and the seductive Serpent.

Over-arching these reliefs we see the signs of the Zodiac, for the most part very distinct, beginning with Aries and ending with Pisces. In the spandrels of the vault, on either side, is Mithras with a bow as a hunter, and a man kneeling in front of a cave. The god is said by Justin Martyr to have been born from a rock, whence the epithet *πετρογενής* is applied to him.² A rectangular space above is divided by three trees into four compartments,

¹ Horace, Odes III, 27, 11,

Oscinem corvum prece suscitabo
Solis ab ortu.

Vide note in the Delphin edition, *Ore futura praeinentem*: quotations from Aulus Gellius and Pliny are added. C. O. Müller, *Archäologie der Kunst*, Eng. Translation, p. 447, § 361, Remark 5, Apollo as possessor of the *Pythian tripod* (§ 299) sitting between the *ἄρα* in a vase-painting from Volci (§ 1432). Forcellini's *Lexicon*, s.v. *Corvus*: Statius, *Thebais*, iii, 506, comes obscurus tripodum; Petronius, *Satyricon*, cap. 122, v. 177, Delphicus ales, note of Nic. Heinsius on v. 176 in Burmann's edition, 4to, vol. i, p. 754. Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, ii, 534 sqq.

and v, 329. Hirt, *Bilderbuch für Mythologie*, Apollo Tab. iv, Die attribute des Apollo; p. 34, No. 6, Der Dreifuss charakterisirt ihn als Weissager der Zukunft, dessen Haupt-Orakel zu Delphi war. In fig 10 of Tab. IV. we see a bird perched on a tripod. C. O. Müller, *Denkmäler der alten Kunst*, part i, Taf. lii, No. 237, Apollo an den Dreifuss gelehnt, silver coin of Seleucus ii, Callinicus.

² Edit. Benedictine, Paris, 1742, p. 168 b. *Dialogus cum Tryphone Judaeo*, cap. 70 init. Ὅταν δὲ οἱ τὰ Μίθρου μυστήρια παραδιδόντες, λέγωνιν ἐκ πέτρας γεγενῆσθαι αὐτὸν, καὶ σπήλαιον καλῶσι τὸν τόπον, ἐνθα μυνεῖν τοὺς πειθομένους αὐτῷ παραδιδούσιν, κ.τ.λ.

the separation of different scenes being made just as in the sculptures of Trajan's column at Rome, which portray various operations in his Dacian wars.¹ A man appears growing out of a tree; Mithras, three times repeated, drags by the hind-legs a bull from which a snake is escaping, touches the radiated crown of the Sun-god, and takes by the hand a man kneeling before him.² A broad border encloses the scenes already described, and each corner of it is occupied by a medallion containing the winged head of one of the Four Winds—a subject which is best represented in the Horologium of Andronicus Cyrrhestes at Athens. In the upper part of the frame divided by trees, on the left, Mithras invited by the Sun-god mounts a chariot ascending a hill³; on the right, the Moon-goddess drives her descending steeds. Here both deities ride in a *biga*; frequently the Sun has four horses (*quadriga*), and thus, as the superior power, is distinguished from the Moon, who has only two.⁴ The two perpendicular sides show us full length figures and profiles vertically arranged in panels, not easy to identify as attributes are wanting; though amongst the latter Cohausen sees Flora and Isis.

At the time of discovery the back of the Tablet lay uppermost, and was much injured by the ploughshare.

¹ See Froehner, *La Colonne Trajane*, 8vo, woodcuts, at p. 93 Nos. 20 and 21, at p. 97; Nos. 22 and 23. Les scènes sont comme d'habitude, divisées par un arbre. Comp. Fabretti, *La Colonna Trajana*, folio Plates, *passim*.

² It should be observed that Mithras here is different from the Sun, with whom he is usually identified in inscriptions, e.g. at the Louvre, DEO SOLI INVICTO MITHR., NAMA SEBESIO. The former clause is engraved on the bull's side, the latter, a little higher up—just below his neck. Perhaps SEBESIO is equivalent to *σεβαστόν*, and then the phrase would mean "sacred stream," and refer to the blood flowing from the victim. Others say that we have here a corruption of Persian or Sanscrit words, or the Phrygian deity Sabazius, son of Rhea or Cybele who was worshipped as mother of the gods. The dimensions are height 2·51 mètres, length 2·57, and therefore very inferior to those of the tablet at Wiesbaden.

On the other hand this bas-relief, now in the Louvre, but formerly in the

Borghese Collection, surpasses other Mithraic representations on account of its artistic excellence; it has also a special interest, as coming from the Capitol at Rome, so that the *provenance* shows how an Eastern religion had penetrated into the sanctuary of the Empire. Baumeister, *Denkmäler des Klassischen Altertums*, Band ii, p. 925, fig. 996, has a very good engraving of this subject, *Das Mithrasopfer*.

³ Here again Mithras is not the same as the Sun-God: comp. Catalogue of Antiquities at York, loc. citat., "In the sculptured tablets he appears in a different character, as the first of the celestial beings, called Izeds, or good genii, the source of light, and the dispenser of fertility."

⁴ See my paper on Touraine and the Central Pyrenees, sect. ii, where an account is given of a gem belonging to the Marquis de Biencourt, on which Diana Tauropolis is figured, *Archæol. Journ.* vol. xlv, p. 229, text and notes 1 and 4; and page 230, note 1.

Above the arch which corresponds with that in the front, we observe only scanty remains of a hunter surrounded by dogs and game. Under it the slaughtered bull lies stretched on the ground; behind him is the Phrygian cap, with radiated crown round it, placed on the top of a pole. This trophy, for such is its appearance, occupies the space between two figures: a man fully draped on one side holds in his left hand a hunting-spear, and in his right a cluster of grapes, which he offers to Mithras standing opposite to him. Here also two genii appear, but instead of torches, they hold baskets filled with fruit. One branch of archaeology frequently illustrates another; in reliefs upon the gravestone of a Dalmatian soldier, found in the burial-place on the Rupertsberg near Bingen, we meet with the same two figures; a proof of the extent to which this Oriental cult had spread. The monument is engraved and described by Dr. Lindenschmit, *op. citat.*, Heft x, Taf. 5, and he mentions another of an archer, discovered at the same place, in this respect quite similar. The museum at Wiesbaden contains votive altars and fragments of statuettes belonging to the same cycle of ideas, which do not deserve to be mentioned separately; and speaking generally we may remark that repetition prevails so much in this class of remains, that we can seldom glean from them an additional fact to throw light on our researches. Reviewing the whole subject—doctrines, symbols and existing monuments—I feel by no means inclined to agree with the Father of the church who regarded Mithraism as the work of the devil, but rather with those who see in it something higher and nobler than “the elegant mythology of the Greeks,” a religion that was feeling after God if haply it might find Him, as a greater than Tertullian has said,¹ that strove to embody, nay more, to still the longings of mankind for a divine

¹ St. Paul's Sermon on Mars' Hill, Acts xvii, 27. *ζητεῖν τὸν θεόν, εἰ ἔρα γε ψηλαφή-σαιεν αὐτὸν καὶ εὐροίεν. Ψηλαφᾶν, to feel, grope, like a blind man or as in the dark; Liddell and Scott's Lexicon s.v. Alford, in loco, quotes an apposite passage, Aristophanes, Pax. 691, ἐψηλαφῶμεν ἐν σκοτῇ τὰ πράγματα.*

Stukeley, *Philosophical Transactions*, loc. citat., says, “The Mithraic ceremonies, as likewise the mysteries of the antients, were but the expiring remains of the antient patriarchal religion, and worship of the true God . . . Mithras is but another name of a Messiah, in his priestly character.”

deliverer, or, in other words, to meet those demands of our moral nature which christianity alone can satisfy.¹

Of all the health resorts near the Rhine, perhaps none is more frequented than Homburg; accordingly two accounts of its museum have appeared in our vernacular; hence a long description will not be expected from me; but, on the other hand, a few words may not be altogether superfluous. The English Catalogue should be read with caution, because it seems to have been written by a foreigner, imperfectly acquainted with our language; it contains doubtful and incorrect statements, and it abounds with typographical blunders; e.g. the Myrrhine vases are said to be named from Murrha "where the most costly were made;" and the small glass bottles (lacrymatories so called), found in graves, to have been used for tears; in another place we read of the head of a catapult discharged from a moveable wooden fort.² In the name of Trajan *Vipius* is written for *Ulpus*, and in a coin of Elegabalus

¹ Amongst modern authorities the most important is Felix Lajard, *Recherches sur le culte public et les mystères de Mithra en Orient et en Occident* (ouvrage posthume), Paris, 1867 folio, with numerous illustrations. This writer may be sometimes rash in his conclusions, but his learning and industry cannot be disputed.

² I have found no such place as Murrha or Myrrha in Smith's Dictionary and other works relating to classical geography; the nearest approach to it is Myrrhinus, one of the Attic demi. Lycophron, v. 829, uses the expression *Μύρρας ἄστρ* with reference to Byblos in Phœnicia, but it is evident that *Μύρρα* here cannot be the name of a town: Pape, *Wörterbuch*, s.v. Some have supposed that the Myrrhina (*vasa*) were made of flint spar, but most recent writers, from Gibbon down to our own time, consider that they were Chinese and Japanese porcelain: Heinrich's note on Juvenal, *Erklärung*, Sat. vi, v. 155 sq. *Grandia tolluntur crystallina, maxima rursus*

Myrrhina, deinde adamas notissimus, etc. cf. vii, 133. Various forms of the word are found in the manuscripts: Ruperti, *Annotatio critica* on vi, 156; cf. edit. Otto Jahn, 1851—Myrrina, Mirrina, Myrina, Myrrhia, Murrhina. From the context in the passages of Juvenal we gather that these vases were articles of luxury and very expensive.

The different opinions of many writers will be found in Ruperti's explanatory Commentary on Juvenal, vi, 155; see also the foot note *ibid.* Comp. Rich's Dictionary and the Dict. of Greek and Roman Antt., s.v. Murrhina. Gibbon, chap. xxxi, note 43 (vol. iv, p. 79, edit. Smith), should not be overlooked.

It is now generally admitted that the so-called tear-bottles were used for perfumes, and as an argument against the notion of *lacrimatories* we may notice the fact that the word *lacrimatorium* as a noun does not occur in classical Latin; accordingly Forcellini has not admitted it into his Lexicon. It appears in the Glossarium of De Vit with the explanation *locus lacrymarum*. *Lacrimatorius*, a, um occurs in a medical writer as an adjective, *ad lacrimas eliciendas inscrivens*: Sex. Placit. de Medic. 17.1. Becker's Gallus, Roman scenes of the time of Augustus, Eng. transl., p. 519, Bottles, filled with perfumes, were placed inside the tomb, which was besprinkled *odoribus*. These are the tear-flasks, or lacrimatories so often mentioned formerly: Orelli, *Inscr. Lat.*, cap. xx, *Sepulchralia*, No. 4832.

Ac teretes onyches fuci gracilesque alabastri.

Catapultæ is an engine for hurling missiles; rarely, if at all, the missile thus projected.

DACERD for SACERD, ELEGAT for ELEGAB.¹ Greater, but by no means perfect accuracy will be found in the English translation of the Roman Castellum Saalburg by Col. Cohausen and Mr. Jacobi, 1882, to which an introduction by Mr. Thomas Hodgkin is prefixed. It would be desirable, however, to consult the original German, of which an edition with a good plan, "Uebersichtsplan der Saalburg und Umgebung," has appeared subsequently to the Catalogue. Cohausen being a Colonel of Engineers, and Jacobi an architect, they both brought to the investigation of the fortress, exceptional qualifications, derived from their professional studies and experience. Mr. Hodgkin published an elaborate paper on the Pfahlgraben in the *Archæologia Æliana*, 1882, which is, I believe, the most important contribution to a knowledge of the Wall made by our own countrymen, since the late Mr James Yates wrote his memoir "On the Limes Rhæticus and Limes Transrhenanus," 1852. Preceding authors—such as Steiner, Paulus and Herzog—had written on portions of this rampart, but Cohausen has treated the subject in its whole extent, from Regensburg (Ratisbon) to Andernach; his work, fully illustrated by an atlas of plates, is entitled "Der Römische Grenzwall in Deutschland. Militärische und technische Beschreibung desselben. 1884."²

Saalburg is the best known among the *castella* on the Limes, and the excavations there have yielded a rich harvest of antiquities. They have been lodged and care-

¹ The English catalogue referred to above is entitled, "The Museum, Hom-bourg V-d H." *i.e.* Vor der Höhe, thus distinguished from other places of the same name—an der Rossel (Oberhom-burg) and in der Pfalz. This anonymous publication bears no date; it was printed by C. Langhorne, at Stoke.

² Ratisbon, though not mentioned by Roman authors, is proved to have been an important fortress under the Empire by inscriptions found there, and, above all, by the Gate recently laid open: die Blosslegung der Porta praetoria des Mark-Aurel'schen Castrums im Bischofshofe. See p. i, Rechenschaftsbericht des historischen Vereines von Oberpfalz und Regensburg für das Jahr 1885, which forms an Appendix to the Transactions (Verhandlungen) for the same year.

In the Table of Pentinger, Segmentum

iii, C. Regino (*sic.*) is marked opposite the Marcomanni, who are North of the Danube; two towers are drawn on the site, which indicates an important place, as in the case of Mantua, Verona etc. Aquileia, a city of much greater consequence, has eight towers. These buildings are coloured, red in the upper part and yellow in the lower: Dr. Konrad Müller's edition of the Table "in den Farben des Originals herausgegeben."

It should be observed that Reginum (Castrum Regina) has the penultima short, and is only a Latinized form of the name of the river Regen, which joins the Danube near Regensburg. Lamartinière explains Ratisbonne as coming from *bona ratis*, "*i.e.*, endroit propre pour l'abord des bateaux:" v, Charnock's Local Etymology, a derivative Dictionary.

fully arranged in a hall of the Kurhaus at Homburg; they have thus been not only preserved, but rendered very accessible. It is half a day's work to make the excursion to Saalburg, but the visitor finds in this collection everything that was portable deposited close to his own door. The articles disinterred are very miscellaneous; I was struck by the number and variety of utensils in iron and bronze—tools of trades, field and garden implements, and especially locks and keys, the construction of which is well explained by Cohausen and Jacobi in the *brochure* cited above, page 29. On the wall of the Museum is suspended a large plan of Saalburg, showing not only the fortress, but also the adjoining Villa, civil settlements and burial place (*Buergerliche Niederlassungen und Begrabnisstaette*).¹

A classical tourist accustomed to admire the vast structures built by the Romans—triumphal arches, baths, aqueducts and temples—magnificent even in ruins, can scarcely avoid feeling some disappointment when he sees here on the slope of the Taunus only foundations or walls rising a few feet above the soil. This state of things is easily accounted for. During the first century of our era Artaunum, as Ptolemy calls the place, was repeatedly taken and burnt²; in the thirteenth it suffered the same misfortune as the Aqueduct at Mainz, having supplied building materials for the Convent Maria-Thron in the neighbourhood³; subsequently, it was used by peasants and miners as a convenient quarry. Even after public

¹ Comp. the Plates at the end of "The Roman Castellum Saalburg," op. citat., translated by F. C. Fischer; i, fig. 1, map of the Saalburg and environs; fig. 2, Profile of the Vallum and Ditches of the Castellum, now and formerly; ii, Plan of Camp; iii, The time of reign of the Roman Emperors and number of their coins found in this locality. See also the lithographs inserted in Mr. Hodgkin's Memoir at pp. 62, 64. Suburban settlement, Porta Decumana looking North, Praetorium from the West, Porta Praetoria from within the camp.

An important work, by Cohausen and Jacobi, on the Saalburg was promised some years ago; but when I was at Homburg in the Autumn of 1888, it had not appeared.

² Ptolemy, ii, 11, 14, *Germania Magna*, edit. Car. Müller, vol. i, p. 272,

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**Ἀρταυνον*: with the following note, **Ἀρταυνον*, supra scripto κ, Φ, **Ἀρταυνον* cett. Nomen ex latino *arx Tauni* ortum esse conjicit Ukertus... Tacitus, *Annals*, i, 56 (speaking of Germanicus), posito castello super vestigia paterni praesidii in monte Tauno, expeditum exercitum in Chattos rapit. The form **Ἀρταυνον* obviously supports Ukert's conjecture.

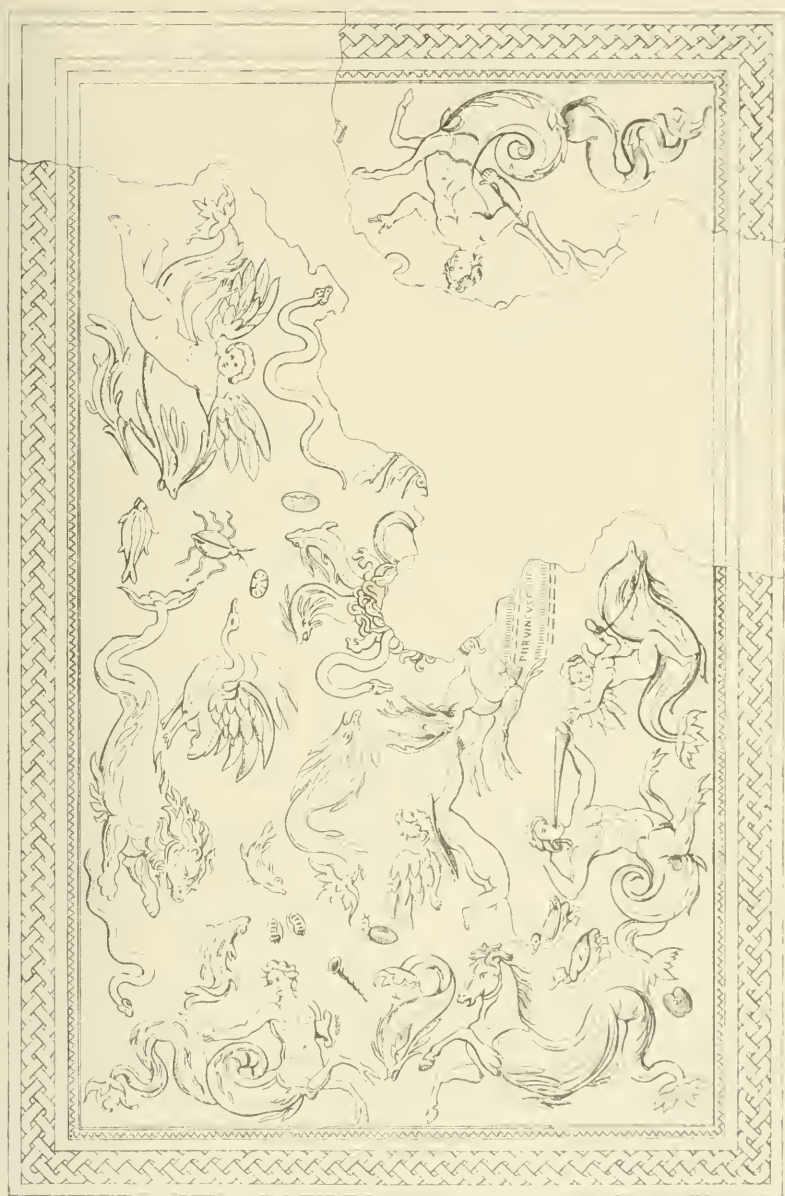
³ The convent of Dahlheim, which itself has disappeared, stood near the piers of the Roman aqueduct still remaining at Zahlbach, a suburb of Mainz. Brambach, *Corpus Inscr. Rhenanarum*, No. 1,139, "mutilis arae lapis, quem . . . in Dahlheimensi virginum monasterio inter murorum ruinas erui feci." Fuchs. Cf. 1,149, "mutilum hunc lapidem in parthenoe Dahlheimensi inveni." Id.

attention had been directed to the spot and excavations were made, the walls discovered, for want of adequate protection, crumbled away. However, not to speak of the delightful prospect which the site commands, in spite of all these dilapidations, enough remains to indicate the dimensions and arrangement of a Roman camp, the General's head-quarters (Prætorium), the four gates (Prætoria, Decumana, Principalis dextra and Principalis sinistra) and the roads that led to them. The baths and the storehouse are also ascertained.

Darmstadt, capital of the Grand Duchy of Hesse, is usually described as a dull, uninteresting place, where there is little to see or do; and it is so in comparison with Frankfort, one of the busiest cities in Germany. The collection of Antiquities at the Schloss scarcely offers more attractions than the streets in the town, with one exception, which I proceed to notice—a great mosaic, twelve paces long and eight broad (about ten yards by seven yards) from a Roman bath excavated near Vilbel, in April, 1849. Hitherto, as far as I am aware, no English traveller has published an account of it. Vilbel, a market-town, about four miles north of Frankfort, is situated on the River Nidda, a tributary of the Main; and it is also a station on the railway from Frankfort to Giessen. Considering the natural advantages of the place—surrounded by hills gently rising above the valley, and sheltered from north winds by the Taunus—and that it was defended against barbarian enemies by the Grenz-wall, we might expect to find here a villa in which the Romans would seek to reproduce the luxuries and enjoyments of their own country, as far as a Transalpine climate would allow. The name seemed to harmonize with this view, for it was generally explained as equivalent to the Latin *villa bella*. But there is reason to doubt the etymology, because the geography of interior Germany would very rarely furnish us with examples of *nomina propria* similarly derived. Another interpretation has been proposed. Various forms of the word occur in the records from the eighth century downwards¹—Felwile,

¹ The earliest instance is mentioned by Dr. Bossler, *Die Römerstätte bei Vilbel und der im Jahre 1849 daselbst entdeckte Mosaikboden*. Aus dem Archiv für Hessische Geschichte und Alterthums-

kunde (x Bd. i Heft Nr. 1) besonders abgedruckt. P. 1 in einer Lorscher Urkunde vom 30. Mai 774 und zwar unter dem Namen Felwile im Nitachgowe vorkommt.



MOSAIC PAVEMENT AT DARMSTADT,
FROM BOSSLER, DIE RÖMERSTÄTTE BEI VILBEL.

Velavilre, Velwila, Vilewile, Vilwile, &c. Now, in old High German *felawa felwa*, in middle High German *velewe velwe* signify a willow, a tree that is said to abound at Vilbel, and to attain a remarkable height; and the latter part of the name may come from the Latin *villa*, the interchange of B. and V. being so common as to call for no further remark here. Hence, the whole word is equal to Weidendorf, Willow-town, as in the East end of London we have Willow walk and Primrose-street, though neither tree nor flower has grown there for many a year.¹

As early as 1845, vestiges of a Roman settlement at Vilbel had been discovered—foundations of walls, fragments of pottery, and amongst them Samian ware (*terra sigillata*), decorated as usual. Four years later, some small cubical stones, dug up at the station of the railway connecting the Main with the Weser, were brought to the notice of the Inspector of Works, who at once perceived them to be Mosaic. Henceforth excavations were conducted with the greatest care, and resulted in bringing to light a large tessellated pavement; it soon afterwards found a permanent and appropriate resting place in the first Hall on the middle story of the Schloss at Darmstadt.²

The figures here belong to the cycle of Neptune, but they are of two classes: real creatures—dolphins, swans, ducks, eels, shell-fish; and imaginary beings—sea-centaurs, hippocamps, sea-lions, sea-dragons. One might at first be surprised at a representation so marine at such a distance from the ocean; but we should remember that the mosaic was executed to decorate a bath-room, and with the view of expressing symbolically the pleasure the Romans found in the watery element.³ Ancient art delighted to convey

¹ Bossler, *ibid.*, note 1, p. 2, Der zweite Theil des Namens ist das vom lateinischen *villa* abstammende althochdeutsch *wila* mittelhochdeutsch *wile* (jetzt-weil)=Dorf und in der Form *Velavilre* das gleichbedeutende dem lateinischen *villare* entsprechende *wilari*, *wilre* (jetzt-weiler).

² At Darmstadt the mosaic occupies the same horizontal position as it had originally. Both in the British Museum and in the collection of Antiquities at the Guildhall, for want of space, Roman pavements have been affixed to the walls:

my Paper on Ravenna, *Archaeol. Journ.* vol. xxxii, 1875, p. 420, note 8.

³ With the pavement at Darmstadt we may compare a similar design at Naples, engraved by Paderni, *Raccolta de' più belli ed interessanti Dipinti, Musaici ed altri monumenti rinvenuti negli Scavi di Ercolano, di Pompei, e di Stabia che ammiransi nel Museo Nazionale, Napoli, 1865*, No. 100, *Vivai* di diverse specie di pesci. No less than thirteen fish are represented here; a bird, perched on a rock, is preparing to seize one of them with his beak. Human figures are absent,

an idea by some allegorical form; it was more elegant and refined than the matter-of-fact style of modern art (if it deserves the name), which denotes maritime commerce by a ship and lighthouse on a penny, or mortality by a death's head and crossbones at the entrance to a churchyard.¹ In such a case, this simple explanation may suffice; and we should not be misled by a vain transcendentalism to hunt after some recondite myth or deep significance, which the mosaicist no more intended than Grinling Gibbons when he decorated the temples that Wren's fertile genius had designed. The *Thermæ* at Pompeii afford two examples of a Neptunian subject in stucco, one in the *Apodyterium*, the other in the *Tepidarium*.²

On the upper of the two long sides of the rectangle, beginning at the left hand we see a Cupid (*Eros*) floating on the water with outspread wings, like sails, carrying him onwards. His left arm gently rests on a dolphin, but he seems scarcely to require its support. A kind of sea-beetle and a fish separate this group from a sea-lion; the latter, with waving mane and uplifted paw, prepares to pounce on a serpent, which, aware of the danger, rapidly glides away.³ Above the lion a swan extends its neck

with the exception of winged Genii inserted in the beautiful border of arabesques. The ordinary guide-books notice this fine mosaic very briefly, or omit it altogether.

A similar treatment of marine subjects may be seen near Pau. *Mosaïques de Jurançon et de Bielle (Basses-Pyrénées)* notices et Dessins par Ch.-C. Le Coeur, Architecte, Planches i, ii, iii, two of which are coloured. These plates are repeated in a larger work by the same author, *Le Béarn, Histoire et Promenades archéologiques*, viz., Nos. 21, 22, 23, inserted as illustrations of chap. ii, part i, *Thermes de Jurançon*, pp. 145-163, but without the colouring, which is an important omission, because it prevents the reader from being able to appreciate the beauty of the originals. See esp. Pl. ii, Bassin E, Grande quantité de poissons variés et dont les couleurs sont nuancées avec art, pl. iii. Salle L., Un trident passant sur le côté gauche de la poitrine, et s'élevant au-dessus de la tête, indique une figure de Neptune; *ibid.* Salle M, Buste colossal. Sur cette figure une ancre est disposée, &c, Text, pp. 14, 18, 20. Comp.

my Paper on the South-West of France *Archæol. Journ.* vol. xxxvi, pp. 16-20, 1879.

¹ Mons. Pulsky showed me a gem on which an actor was figured taking a garland off his head, to denote the end of a dramatic performance, and the close of life symbolically.

² Bechi, *Real Museo Borbonico*, tom. ii, tav. 50, 53; pp. 15 and 1, 2. He speaks of these decorations as being in the *spogliatoio* (undressing-room) or *apodyterium*—an apartment which some say was at Pompeii the same as the *frigidarium*, but the opinion is, I think, erroneous: *Dict. of Antt.*, s.v. *Balneæ*, p. 189. Overbeck, *Pompeii*, vol. i, *Drittes Capitel, Fünfter Abschnitt, Die älteren Thermen*, p. 192, fig. 139. *Ansicht des Apodyterium*, and text p. 193; p. 196, fig. 142. *Deckenwölbung des Tepidarium*; and p. 216, full-page *Figur 149 Apodyterium der neuen Thermen*.

³ This water-beetle perhaps belongs to the sub-order *Hydrophilus*, v. Cuvier, *Règne Animal*, tome 6, *Insectes I*, S. Genre *Hydrophile*. Pl. 38; cf. *ibid.* Pl. 26, fig. 6, *Haliple* imprimé: but at

gracefully curved, and directs its beak towards the beetle in front. Proceeding in the same direction, we find in the opposite corner of the smaller side, a sea-centaur; the upper part of his body as far as the hips, human; the lower composed of a horse's legs, that end not in hoofs but web feet, and of a fish's tail with many convolutions; in this and similar figures throughout the mosaic fins and scales are wanting. The centaur turns his head to look at the beings behind, with his right hand outstretched he invites them to follow him, under his left arm he carries a shell-fish. Next comes a hippocamp which has the hoofs as well as fore-legs of a horse, and the tail of a fish with fewer curves; so that considerable variety is introduced. His head is erect, and the action more spirited than in the last case. A young dolphin divides the two more important figures. Behind the hippocamp two ducks claim attention by the beauty of their colouring; in one of them the effect is produced by using a vitreous paste instead of small marble cubes. On the lower side of the mosaic only a single group remains; it consists of a sea centaur blowing a trumpet, and a Cupid riding on a dolphin,¹ who holds the reins with his left hand, while he raises his right arm in an attitude of astonishment, and turns his head to listen to the notes of the instrument.

The great *lacuna* in the composition which we observe

Darmstadt the treatment is so conventional that in many cases we cannot with certainty identify the creatures represented. On the contrary, in the marine mosaic at Naples the style is realistic; all the fish, portrayed with great fidelity, belong to the Mediterranean, and we can easily recognize the torpedo, pecten (scallop), and pinna (a kind of shell-fish). Similarly, periwinkles are visible among the flowers in the border.

The lion chasing a serpent has its analogue at Corinium: Buckman and Newmarch, Remains of Roman Art in Cirencester. Pl. vi. The Pavement B from Dyer street, p. 36. A winged sea-dragon, with two strong fore-legs, in active pursuit of a fish, also a sea-leopard following another fish. Heads of Neptune with "tangled sea-weeds" and lobsters' claws. These details are well exhibited in a coloured engraving, 4to size.

¹ Deities belonging to the cycle of

Neptune, in various attitudes, were a favourite subject with the ancient artists. Gori, Gemmae Antiquae Musei Florentini, vol. ii., p. 99, Tab. li., fig. ii. Amor a delphinis vectus. Amorem regem per mare alii Cupidines comitantur. Cf. Tabb. xxxviii, xlii, xlviii. Catalogue of Engraved Gems in the British Museum, Nos. 613, 614, Plate G (photograph), Poseidon driving two hippocamps; Nos. 620-627 Nereid; No. 881, Eros riding on a dolphin. Millin, Galerie Mythologique, Explication des Planches, No. 177, Pl. xlii; No. 298, Pl. lxxiii; No. 632, Pl. clxxii. C. O. Müller, Denkmäler, part i., taf. xl., fig. 175; pt. ii., liii, 672; cf. ibid. vii., 78-81, 85; with 79 coin of gens Crepereia comp. Babelon, Description historique et chronologique des Monnaies de la République Romaine, 1885-6, tome i., p. 439 sq., with 2 woodcuts.

here was probably filled by an animal without any admixture of the human form, so as to correspond with the lion above mentioned; this may be inferred from the symmetry prevailing the design, which, however, as in the Parthenon pediments, was not carried so far as to appear mechanical and monotonous.¹ On the other hand, as we turn round the corner, we come upon a sea-centaur, well-drawn, and, fortunately, well-preserved; his right hand holds up a rudder, and his left points to some monster of the deep, who was doubtless advancing towards him.

All the figures described hitherto are adjacent to the border of the Mosaic; many others similar in character occupied the interior, and evidently bore some relation to the central subject. A winged Cupid and a dolphin are still complete; we see also the fore-quarters of a sea-dragon, which has ears shaped like horns and strange projections (antennae) from his nostrils; but the counter-parts on the opposite side have disappeared. In the midst, a great blank renders it difficult to ascertain the meaning of the few fragments that still remain; these consist of snaky locks, two fishes rising out of them, and a serpent. The undulating tresses suggest the idea that the artist intended to represent Medusa's head, which occurs in mosaic as well as in sculpture and engraved gems. But it is more reasonable to suppose that we have here a river-god, both on account of the fishes, and because such a deity would harmonize better with the surroundings.²

¹ Cockerell, on the Antique marbles in the British Museum, part vi., quoted by Sir H. Ellis, *Elgin and Phigaleian Marbles*, i., 235, "An exact *symmetry* of the masses or groups, in correspondence with the architectural arrangement, was essential in the decoration of an edifice in which order and regularity were the chief sources of effect. To these groups the sculptor's art was to give every *variety* consistent with this principle, and the nature of the work contributed to this important result." Ibid. ii., 18, "The head of one of the horses of Night projected over the cornice, thus breaking the line which might seem too rigidly to confine the composition of the frontispiece." Der Parthenon von Adolf Michaelis, Text mit einer Hilfstafel, 1871; Atlas of Plates, Taf. 6, fig. 5, Der Ostgiebel nach Carrey; Taf. 7, Westgiebel i., figs. 1-6, Aeltere Zeichnungen: Text, p. 154 sq. Erklä-

rung der Tafeln. Asymmetrie, Symmetrie des Contrastes.

² In the marine Mosaic at Naples, mentioned above, the central group is entire. At first I thought it was a *Gryllus*, such as we see in King's Handbook of Engraved Gems, woodcut opposite p. 81, No. 4; i.e., a grotesque figure formed by combining portions of various animals of the most diverse species into the outline of a single monster: v. Description of the woodcuts, *ibid.*, p. 377, and Copper-Plate, No. 34. But Professor Hartog explained to me that the subject we have here is a cuttle-fish devouring a prawn, which would correspond well with the general design. It may interest some readers to compare with this antique picture Cuvier's *Règne Animal*, tome 5, text, *Mollusques, Céphalopodes*, pp. 12-24; and Atlas of Plates, Nos. 1-7. Genre *Seiche. Sepia*. Sous-Genre *Poulpe. Octopus*. S. Genre *Calmar. Loligo*, &c.

The inscription should not be passed over, especially as examples on Mosaics occur but rarely. It informs us that *PIRVINCVS* was the artist ; there are also some letters, which should probably be read *FECIT*.¹ These words are formed with black tessellæ on a white ground, and included within a framework of vertical and horizontal lines, so as to present the appearance of a tablet. A Roman potter of this name is mentioned by Mommsen in his *Inscriptiones Confoederationis Helveticæ Latinæ* ; it is also found on the Rhine and the Danube, and in the South of France.²

I have already ventured to descend the stream below my prescribed limits, may I now be permitted for a few moments to proceed in the opposite direction ? Strasbourg (Argentoratum) is not famous for Roman remains, but it interests the scholar as the seat of a University adorned by many illustrious names ; and if he has studied the monuments themselves on the Rhine and the Moselle, he may here with great advantage consult the books that have been written concerning them. The Library contains more than 600,000 volumes, chiefly collected since the siege in 1870 ; as might be expected, it is very rich in Alsatian literature, which fills one apartment exclusively. I remember with pleasure that an employé said to me, “*On donne toutes les facilités*,” and that he amply fulfilled his promise. However, Strasbourg possesses

¹ The letters *II* are frequently used as equivalent to *E* : My paper on Antiquities in the Museum at Palermo, *Archæol. Journ.* 1881, vol. xxxviii, p. 160 sq., note 3, containing a reference to Torremuzza. In this case, one inscription supplies ten examples. Torremuzza's work is a cumbersome and expensive folio, but the words which I have cited will be found in a recent and handy publication : *Catalogo del Museo dell' Ex-Monastero di S. Martino delle Scale presso Palermo, compilato da A. Salinas*, p. 11, No. 75.

² *Mittheilungen der Antiquarischen Gesellschaft in Zürich*, zehnter Band ; No. 214, p. 40. Monument at Amsoldingen near Thun.

MAT. PERVINC
VS. PATR. F. C

Orelli's Collection, 1st edition, 1828, cap. xxiii, *Analecta nonnulla*, p. 451, No. 5,066, gives the inscription very differently.

Zürich, *Mittheilungen*, *ibid.*, *Vasa*, in

testis reliquis impressa vel inscripta, No. 352, 159, p. 96. [Basil.]

PIRVINCI. F

Bruckner, p. 3,075, *Römische Altertümer von Augst*. Mittheil. der Gesellschaft für Vaterländische Alterthümer in Basel. Die Römischen Inschriften des Kantons Basel von Dr. K. L. Roth, p. 13, II Töpfernamen, p. 14, A. Namen im Nominativ mit dem Zusatz *Fecit*, and note 21). *PIRVINCI. F*.

Dr. Bossler, *op. citat.*, p. 27, note 54, quotes five examples of this name from Gruter's Collection, but in each case by mistake he has attributed them to Graevius. One of them contains a remarkable word, *exsignifer*, a soldier who had been a standard-bearer, so that the use of the preposition here is the same as we have in *Ex-Chancellor*, *Ex-Premier*, &c. Comp. the phrase *ex pauperrimo dives factus*. Cicero *ap. Key*, *Lat. Grammar*, 1st edition, p. 311, § 1,331 (from being very poor you have become rich).

a collection of local antiquities that deserves a visit; many objects have been discovered in digging for the new fortifications, and a Catalogue is being prepared.¹ As a very eminent and zealous Archæologist resides in the city, he will, we may be sure, "gather up the fragments that remain that nothing be lost."²

On former occasions I have acknowledged my obligations to French Antiquaries; in my last tour I was so fortunate as to make the acquaintance of Dr. Lindenschmit, Colonel von Cohausen and Professor Michaelis, to whom I am deeply indebted for their kind co-operation. The German savants may not have that fascinating charm of manner which makes our nearest neighbours so agreeable; but they equal their rivals in cordiality; they surpass them in profound and varied erudition.

APPENDIX.

Julius Grimm, in his treatise, entitled *Der Römische Brückenkopf in Kastel bei Mainz*, has translated the words of Florus, *loc citat.* *Per Rheni quidem ripam quinquaginta amplius castella direxit*, Vollends am Ufer des Rheines errichtete er mehr als fünfzig Castelle. This rendering would correspond with *erexit*; but *direxit* implies a continuous series

¹ This Museum is on the right bank of the river Ill, and not far from the Münster: Baedeker's *Rheinlande*, p. 155, edit., 1886, *Die Sammlungen des elsässischen Alterthumsvereins*; comp. Plan of Strasbourg between pp. 146 and 147. After crossing the bridge one should proceed by the Wilhelmer Gasse.

² I refer especially to the learned author of the great work on the Parthenon, cited above, and of the *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain*—books I cannot read without shame, because a foreigner has surpassed all English writers in describing our own collections, both public and private. However, Prof. Michaelis is not without *collaborateurs* at Strasbourg, as may be seen by consulting the *Bulletin de la Société pour la conservation des monuments historiques d'Alsace*.

A very copious account of the Gallo-Roman Cemetery is given by A. Straub, chanoine titulaire de la cathédrale, in the Publications of this Society, II^e Série.—Onzième volume (1879-1880), Deuxième Partie.—Mémoires, avec gravures et planches, pp. 3-135. The text is illustrated by three plans: I., *Vue cavalière des alentours de la Porte Blanche de Strasbourg avant la démolition des*

anciens remparts; II., *Plan Masse du Cimetière Romain et de ses alentours à 1/2000*; III., *Cimetière Romain de Strasbourg*. Plates i-vi. show glass and pottery found in excavating; see *Répertoire (Index)* at the end of the Article, s.v. *Aiguïères*, *Amponles*, *Fioles* et *Flacons à essences*, *Flacons et bouteilles de grandes dimensions*, *Poterie*, *Verres Romains*. In the same neighbourhood a valuable cup was found, of the kind called *Diatreta* (pierced, bored, *διὰ τρητος*, of *διὰ τρητῶν*). It unfortunately perished during the siege, together with many other vases, on the disastrous night of August 24, 1870; *op. citat.*, p. 6 sq. These glass vessels were contained within a sort of network, or open tracery, also of glass: Rich, *Dictionary*, s.v. with woodcut, *Dict. of Antt.*, s.v. *Vitrum*, p. 1211; *Martial Epigrams*, XII., 70, 9, *O quantum diatreta valent et quinque comati!*

The cemetery at Strasbourg may advantageously be compared with the one at Ratisbon, on both sides of the road from that city to Kumpfmühl. An elaborate plan of it, giving many details, has been published by Herr Dahlem.

or chain of fortresses, as distinguished from those that might be built promiscuously, whenever an opportunity presented itself.

Livy, bk. v, chap. 55, affords a most apposite illustration of this word: *Festinatio curam exemit vicos dirigendi, dum, omisso sui alienique discrimine, in vacuo aedificant.* The historian is relating the *Instauratio Urbis* after its capture and burning by the Gauls; and his narrative reminds us of the parallel case in our own metropolis after the Great Fire, when Sir Christopher Wren's magnificent design was rejected, and the irregular rebuilding of London ensued.

Cf. Persius, Sat i, v. 65,

Scit tendere versum

Non secus ac si oculo rubricam dirigit uno.

Since every verse is drawn as straight and fine,

As if one eye had fix'd the ruddled line.

Giffords Translation, p. 21.

See also the note of Is. Casaubon *in loco*, edit. Paris, 1615.

P. Silius, in No. 3414 of the Spanish Inscriptions, C.I.L., has been identified above with P. Silius Nerva, Consul B.C. 20; this explanation is confirmed by the letters being well formed, "*litterae sunt optimae aevi Augusti.*" The Index gives his name thus P.SILIVS, denoting by capitals a man of senatorial rank. We also find the feminine Silia. Coins of gens Silia, according to Cohen, are interesting, because they show the mode of voting by ballot at elections; cf. Cassia: *Médailles Consulaires*, Silia, No. 155, pp. 301-303, Pl. xxxviii; Cassia, No. 35, p. 81 sq., Nos. (8), (9) and p. 84; Pl. xi, Nos. 4, 5; obs. *Éclaircissements* in the text. But Babelon, following the attribution of earlier numismatists, assigns the pieces in question to the family Licinia, instead of Silia: *Monnaie de la République Romaine* tome ii, p. 128 sq., No. 7, and woodcut, cf. p. 461.

For Atto see Brambach, Corp. Inscr. Rhenan, Nos. 605, 825, 857, 915, 1,483, 1,769. No. 915 is the inscription at Mainz given above *in extenso*. The Index to Hübner's Inscr. Hispan. has *Atto m. 2,835, which means that the name is doubtful, and that the person mentioned was a male. Turning to the reference I find that ATEO is on the stone; this seems to be the termination of some proper name that we are unable to supply. De Vit's Onomasticon omits Atto, but contains the gens Attonia, "*parum nota.*" Mommsen, Inscr. Helveticae, cap. xxv, Colonia Augusta Raurica (Basel-Augst), p. 59, No. 287. Basileae hinter der Münsterkirche: Roth, Die Römischen Inschriften des Kantons Basel, op. citat., p. 11, No. 23 and note 16: Orelli, vol. ii, p. 125, cap. xiv, §6, Honesta Missio, No. 3,580.

In the second inscription which I have quoted CIVIS occurs for CIVIS, nominat. sing. Gruter, pag. lxiv, 6, Augustae (Vindelicorum) in aedibus Peutingeri, SEX. ATTONIVS. PRIVATVS CIVIS (*sic*) TREVER; *ibid.* dlviij, 4, In oppido Lauginga CIVIS BRIVINES: Orelli, No. 3,523 Cives (*sic*) Mediomatrica; he calls attention to the feminine gender of *civis*, and refers to Gruter, xliii, 5, Civis Trevera: comp. my paper on Touraine and the Central Pyrenees, part ii, Archæol. Journ., vol. xlv, p. 334; the lady probably came from Trèves to drink the waters at Luchon. This use of *civis* corresponds with the French *citoyenne*. There was also an archaic form *ceivis*; hence the long syllable in the penultima of *civis* can be accounted for. An example

occurs in the Senatus-Consultum (so-called) De Bacchanalibus, of which Drakenborch's Livy. edit. 4to., gives a fac-simile, vol. vii, p. 197, &c. With CEIVS cf. ibid. PREIVATOD. IBEI, VOBETIS. Vide Ariodante Fabretti, Corpus Inscriptionum Italicarum antiquioris aevi ... et Glossarium Italicum, 1867, quoted by De Vit. p. 817, s.v. CEIVS=Osc. CEVS, et CEIVITAS; v. CEVS, p. 836 sq.

The geographical position of Raetinium is thus defined by Pliny, Nat. Hist. iii, 22 (26), §142. Ab his castella Peguntium, Rataneum, Narona colonia tertii conventus a Salona lxxxii m. pass., apposita cognominis sui fluvio a mari xx m. pass. For the campaign of Germanicus in Dalmatia and the capture of Raetinum see Dion Cassius, lib. lvi, cap. 11 edit. Sturz, vol. iii, p. 438 Ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἐπὶ Ῥαίτινον ἐλθόντες οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι, οὐχ ὁμοίως ἀπ' ἄλλαν.... ἀπ' ἀμφοτέρων ἅμα ἀπόλοντο, τῇ μὲν τιτρωσκόμενοι, τῇ δὲ καίόμενοι.

In the passage cited above Dr. Lindenschmit describes the part of the armour protecting the lower region of the abdomen and the pudenda—8 Lederstreifen, welche mit Metallbuckeln beschlagen sind, und an ihren Enden bewegliche, in Scharnieren hängende Schlussknöpfe haben: cf. ibid. Heft iv, Taf. 6. The metal bosses or studs upon the leather straps show that this appendage to the *lorica* was defensive as well as ornamental. The Greek name for it is πτέρυγες (wings), apparently from some resemblance of form; the Latin equivalent is not known, *laciniu* (lappet or flap of a garment) would perhaps come nearest; it is used with reference to *chlamys*, *pallium*, *toga* and *tunica* (Rich, Dict., s.v.) but I have not met with any case in which it is applied to military uniform.

Two interesting passages in Xenophon corroborate what has been already said, De Re Equestri, xii, 4, Περὶ δὲ τὸ ἥτρον καὶ τὰ αἰδοῖα καὶ τὰ κύκλω αἱ πτέρυγες τοιαῦται καὶ τοσαῦται ἔστωσαν, ὥστε στεγεῖν τὰ μέλη. Anabasis, iv, 7, § 15 (speaking of the Chalybes in Pontus), ἔχον δὲ θώρακας λινοῦς μέχρι τοῦ ἥτρον, ἀντὶ δὲ τῶν πτερύγων σπάρτα πνικτὰ ἐντραμμένα. Vid. Stephens, Thesaurus Linguae Graecae, edit. Didot, s.v. πτέρυξ; Dict. of Antt., p. 712 sq., art. *Lorica* by Mr. Jas. Yates: Baumeister, Denkmäler des Klassischen Altertums, s.v. Waffen, pp. 2015-2078, i Griechen, ii Römer, with many illustrations, for the whole subject of ancient armour and weapons; pp. 2,033 links unten, 2060 lu. for the πτέρυγες.

The *Sporran* (pronounced *Spurran*) of our Highland regiments looks very like the ornament described above, and the definition of *Sporan* in Armstrong's Gaelic Dictionary would almost suit for its Roman analogue, viz., a shaggy purse made of the skin of badgers and of other animals, which is fastened by a belt round the middle, and hangs down in front of the philibeg with tassels dangling to it. Comp. Ogilvie's Imperial Dictionary, s.v., with two woodcuts.

A remarkable chapter in Tacitus, Annals, ii, 9, is illustrated by the decorations which we have observed in the monument of Caelius. The historian relates a conversation between Arminius, the German chief, and his brother Flavus (not Flavius, as in some editions), who is serving in the Roman Army, and had lost an eye in battle. The latter says that he had been rewarded with increased pay, a collar, a crown and other military honours, but Arminius scornfully calls them the contemptible wages of a slave—*vilia servitii pretia*. This figure of Caelius has been

reproduced in the Musée d'Antiquités Nationales at St. Germain—a collection which is not limited to objects found in France, as its name would seem to imply. For the purpose of comparison casts of antiques in other countries have been judiciously added.

Phalerae and *torques* were worn by the Romans like the stars, crosses and ribands of our own time; so they remind me of lines quoted by Lord John Russell in the House of Commons, I know not from what author—

“Those emblems Cecil did adorn,
And gleamed on wise Godolphin's breast.”

Caelius perished, as we have already seen, in the defeat of Varus and his legions. It was probably on the occasion of some similar reverse that the Germans captured a service of plate, known as the Hildesheimer Silberfund (from Hildesheim, south of Hanover); it was complete for three persons, and contained about seventy pieces. They were dug up by soldiers working at the foot of the Galgenberg, in 1868, and are now deposited in the Antiquarium of the old Museum at Berlin. This is the most important discovery of the kind that has been made in Germany. Electro-plate copies by Christoffe may be seen at the South Kensington Museum, in the hall of reproductions. Brockhaus, *Conversations Lexicon*, s.v. *Ausgrabungen*, vol. ii., p. 241, thirteenth edition: Murray's *Handbook for the Rhine and North Germany*, p. 192, edit. 1886.

Pape, *Wörterbuch der Griechischen Eigennamen*, gives *Μιθρῆιον*, Heiligthum des Mithras, as the Greek form for Mithraeum; comp. *θησῆιον*, Temple of Theseus. Larousse, *Dictionnaire Universel*, has a copious article on this deity. He says that the sun is *mhr* in Persian, that Aspamitras in Ctesias means *friend of horses*, and Mithridates *given by Mithras*. For the tablet found at Heddernheim, see Lajard, *op. citat.*, Plate cvi; comp. Pls. xe, xci, bas-reliefs de gris.

The term *μεσίτης* is applied to Mithras: Plutarch, *Isis et Osiris*, chap. xlv., μέσον δὲ ἀμφὸν τὸν ΜΙΟΡΗΝ ζῆναι· διὸ καὶ Μίθρηι Πέρσαι τον μεσίτην ὀνομαζουσιν. Cf. Milman, *History of Christianity*, I, 70-73. Mediator—The Word; in the New Testament this is a title of our Lord: Epistle to the Hebrews, viii, 6, κρείττονός ἐστιν διαθήκης μεσίτης; *ibid.* ix, 15, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο διαθήκης καινῆς μεσίτης ἐστίν.

Mosheim, *Church History*, vol. 1, pp. 264—266.

C. O. Müller, *Handbuch der Archäologie der Kunst*, § 322, Remark 4 (English Translation, pp. 323—325) gives the names of noted workers in mosaic (*musivarii*; in the Theodosian Codex, distinguished from *tessellarii*), besides Sosus, Dioscorides and Heraclitus (§ 209, Rem. 1). Proclus and J. Soter, Fuscus at Smyrna (?), Prostatius (?)—vide supra Fourth Period of Art, § 163, Rem. 6, Eng. Transl. p. 121 sq. With the Darmstadt pavement we may compare that found at Lillebonne, which also is inscribed. An account of it was written long ago by the Abbé Cochet, author of *La Normandie Souterraine*: it has been published recently by Messrs. Rollin and Feuarent, with three illustrations of 4to. size.

The meaning of the preposition *EX*, prefixed to a noun, is explained by Dr. Joseph von Hefner, *Das Römische Bayern in seinen Schrift und Bildmalen*, p. 153 sq., No. clxxiv., Denkmal. Regensburg.

D. M.

SEP· IMPETRATO VET LEG· III· ITAL·

M· H· M· EXT· C VI· AN· LIII· . .

Diis Manibus. Septimio Impetrato, veterano legionis III. Italicae, misso honesta missione, extribuno cohortis VI., annorum LIII. . .

EXTB has been explained as the abbreviation for *extribuno* or *extibicine*, but the former seems preferable. Hefner says that *ex* here denotes that a man has resigned his dignity or office, but does not imply that he has been advanced to a higher rank. These compound words generally occur in the Ablative and rarely in the Nominative (like *proconsule propraetore*, and later *proconsul propraetor*), but no other cases are used: cf. *ibid.* p. 270, No. cccxciv. *Denkmal. Rom. Taf. V. Fig. 19a. b.*

CLODI
HERMO
GENIAN
IVC EXPR
EFFECTO
VRBL. . .

Clodii Hermogeniani, viri clarissimi, expraefecto Urbi.

Sometimes a dot separates *ex* from the following word. For other examples vide *ibid.* (vii.) Index Rerum—Exaquilifero legionis i. adjutricis, p. 41; Exbeneficiario consulis, p. 185; Exequite legionis iii. Italicae, pp. 191, 213; Exsignifero legionis iii. Italicae, pp. 150, 151. Comp. Das mittelalterlich—römische Lapidarium und die vorgeschichtlich—römische Sammlung zu St Ulrich in Regensburg. Von J. Dahlem, p. 22, Nr. 59.

EXSIGNIF LEG III;

ibid. p. 12, Nr. 2, we have SIGF, the abbreviation for Signifer.

Der Ober-Donau-Kreis des Königreichs Bayern unter den Römern, Von Dr. v. Raiser. III^{te} Abtheilung, Die Römer-Monumente und Ueberreste aus der Römer-Zeit zu Augsburg und in der nächsten Nachbarschaft, p. 81, liv^{tes} Monument. Kupfer tafel (Tab) ix., fig. i.

This use of *ex* in composition has escaped the attention of many grammarians and lexicographers; I have therefore enlarged upon it.

We have met with Pervincus as the name of a mosaicist, the feminine Pervinea also occurs: Raiser op. p. citat. p 83 lxii^{tes} Monument. Secundinae Pervinae; Hefner 164 sq. clxxxviii. *Denkmal. Biberbach.* The gravestone was erected by the lady's husband,

C·IVLIANIVS·IVL·DEC·MVN·
III VIRALIS..

Caius Julianus Julius decurio municipii quatuorviralis.

It is said that under the Empire there were four chief magistrates (Quatuorviri) in the municipia, and two (Duumviri) in the colonies: Mezger, Die Römischen Steindenkmäler, Inschriften und Gefäss-Stempel im Maximilians-Museum zu Augsburg, 1862, p. 7. Anmerkung. Gruter gives Pervinea Paterni (filia), at Gundershofen in Alsace. There is another form of the name, Pervinia, but it seems doubtful: Hefner p. 153. Nr. clxxiv. *Denkmal. Regensburg.*

Edward Gerhard's Archäologische Zeitung contains an excellent article on the Darmstadt Mosaic by Otto Jahn: he has treated the subject copiously and accurately—in a manner worthy of so eminent a scholar and antiquary: Achtzehnter Jahrgang, 1860, pp. 113-123—Neptunische Mosaik, Tafel cxlii, Römische Bäder zu Vilbel, Grundriss im gross-herzogliche Museum zu Darmsdadt; cxliii, Neptunisches Mosaik aus

Vilbel; cxliv, D^o aus Constantine im Museum des Louvre (which cannot be seen at present on account of alterations in the building.) The author observes that the Darmstadt mosaic is composed partly of small coloured marble cubes, and partly of small coloured and gilt glass pastes; in a note he gives a list of mosaics in which marine subjects (Seeschöpfen) are portrayed—at Olympia, Constantine, Philippeville, Oudnah, Barcelona and Orbe, with references; and he calls attention, as I have already done, to the absence of any special motive for the composition. According to Otto Jahn no other Pervincus is known as a mosaicist, but a potter with this name is mentioned by Fröhner. *Inscr. terr. coct. vas.* 381. Lastly, he describes at length the great mosaic at Constantine representing Poseidon and Amphitrite in a quadriga, Nereids and fishermen. Judging from the engravings I should think it was executed later than the one at Darmstadt. See *Exploration scientifique de l'Algérie*—a magnificent collection of engravings, in folio—plate 139, 140 uncoloured, general view, *i.e.* group of figures surrounded by thirty-six rosettes, each of a different pattern. Plates 141—146 are coloured; the first shows genii holding a canopy over the god and goddess, two boats with masts and sails, sepia (cf. *Dominicis, Repertorio Numism.* i, 480 sq. s.v. Polpo; *Hunter's Catalogue*, s.v. Gortyna, tab. xxviii, fig. 20), and other varieties of fish; then follow the rosettes on a large scale. This work was edited by Ad. H. Ab. Delamare; it contains 193 plates, but no explanatory text. For the mosaic at Orbe v. my Paper on the Roman Antiquities of Switzerland, *Archaeol. Journ.* vol. xlii pp. 191—194, esp. p. 193.

I subjoin the titles of some books on Alsatian Antiquities.

Ingenieur Major F. von Apell, *Ein Beitrag zur Ortsgeschicht von Strassburg in Elsass, mit zwei photolithographirten Planen*, 1884.

De Morlet—*Notice sur les voies Romaines du Département du Bas-Rhin.* (Arrondissements de Strasbourg, de Saverne et de Wissembourg), with map, and part of the Theodosian Table showing roads to Metz, Mayence, and Bâle, 1861.

Wilhelm Wiegand, *Die Alamannenschlacht vor Strassburg, A.D., 357, eine Kriegsgeschichtliche Studie, mit einer Karte and einer Wegskizze*, 1887. These three books were specially recommended to me by Dr. Waldner, one of the librarians at Strassburg.

Goldberg and J. G. Schweighaeuser—*Antiquités de l'Alsace*, vol. i, Haut-Rhin; vol. ii, Bas-Rhin; folio with large engravings: the latter author is the son of John Schweighaeuser, the celebrated editor of Herodotus and other Greek writers. Vol. i contains an Historical Introduction, pp. xi, without an Index; *Routes, Villes Romaines*, pp. 123—126: Vol. ii, *Monuments Romains*, pp. 1-21, with map and plates.

Maximilien de Ring, *Tombes Celtiques de l'Alsace*, folio, with fine coloured plates, in four parts.

Félix Voulot, of Épinal, *Les Vosges avant l'histoire*, 4to. This writer has taken great pains to investigate the district, but his theories are fanciful.

J. Naeher, *Die römischen Militärstrassen und Handelswege in der Schweiz und in Südwestdeutschland insbesondere in Elsass-Lothringen*, 1888, with two maps, 1. corresponding with the title; 2. the Roman Military Way from Argentoratum to Tres Tabernae on a large scale, and

plan of the Castellum at Strassburg. The author justly remarks that by studying these roads we shall perceive their great importance as strategic lines of march and basis of operations for resisting attacks of the Germans on the Roman frontiers. More information may be obtained from this work than the title-page would lead us to expect. The first map shows the route from Augusta Praetoria (Aosta) to Vienna (Vienne), and its continuation through Lugdunum (Lyon), Andematunum (Langres) and Divodurum (Metz) to Augusta Treverorum (Trier, Trèves): vide Index, Inhaltsverzeichniss der Heerstrassen, opposite p. 1.

Dr. Kraus, *Kunst und Alterthum im Unter-Elsass*, three vols. a republication, I think, of memoirs that appeared in the *Bulletin de la Société pour la Conservation des Monuments historiques d'Alsace*. The first volume was mentioned to me by Professor Adolf Michaelis, who is so well known in England for his valuable works on the Parthenon and the Ancient Marbles in the private collections of our country. It contains some remarkable friezes to be seen at Strassburg Cathedral, and not described by the compilers of ordinary guide books: figs. 149-150.

Engel and Lehr, *Les Monnaies d'Alsace, texte français 1887*, are the best authorities for Alsatian coins; the letter-press is said to be good, but the plates rather inferior. This province had no Roman mint, and no Roman gold coins have been found there; it was probably supplied, like our own country, from the great *ateliers monétaires* of Trèves.

Jahrbücher des Vereins von Alterthumsfreunde im Rheinlande, commonly quoted in the abbreviated form—*Bonner Jahrbücher*.

Ernst aus 'm Werth, *Kunstdenkmäler des Christlichen-Mittelalters in den Rheinlanden, 1857-1880*, i. Abtheilung, Bildnerci; ii. Abtheilung, Wandmalereien, large folio, many Plates beautifully coloured. As in old French Churches, so here in Germany, the subjects are frequently taken from the Apocalypse, which is proved by the inscriptions annexed, e.g. *Hi secuntur Agnum quocunque ierit, gaudeamus et exultemus quia venerunt nuptiae Agni*. This work will prove very useful to those who wish to pursue their inquiries beyond the limits of the Classical period, and extend them into the Middle Ages.

The author's name deserves notice: it means literally *from the island in a river*. *Werth* in this sense is not given by the Dictionaries commonly used, because it is obsolete. V. Kiliani *Dictionarium Teutonico-Latinum*, tom. I., s. v. Weerd, Anglo-Saxon voorth, vocorth. Hine Keyzers-weert, Bomels-weert, q. d. Caesaris insula, Bomeli insula: Lexer, *Mittelhochdeutsches Handwörterbuch*: Band III. VF-Z. Nachträge 1876-1878. Wert insel, halbinsel, erhöhtes wasserfreies land zwischen Sümpfen: Weigand, *Deutsches Wörterbuch*, 1881, der Werth Flussinsel. Histrichtig ohne das Dehnungs-h *Wert* Bayer. auch *Worth*, mhd der wert, ahd der warid, werid; 1540 bei Alberus dictionär. Bl. R. 4 *werd*, auch s. v. a. Vor-u. Schutzdamm des Ufers. S. Werder. Compare Nonnenwerth or Rolandswerth, and Grafenwerth—*islands in the Rhine near the Siebengebirge*; and Donauwörth on the Danube, between Augsburg and Nuremberg (Castrum Woerth). The Bavarian Wörth reminds us of English names of places—Worth, a village in Sussex, and Sawbridgeworth, a town in Hertfordshire. For some of these references I am indebted to Dr. Hessels.

I have been informed that there are some remains of an embankment made by Valentinian at Alta Ripa, near the junction of the Neckar

with the Rhine. Being unable to verify the statement, I can only propose it as a subject of investigation to English travellers. The modern name is Altrip, corresponding with Hauterive. Plusieurs localités portent ce nom en France : Brunet, Dictionnaire de Géographie Ancienne et Moderne, Supplément au Manuel du Libraire, p. 50. Ammianus Marcellinus says that Valentinian changed the course of the Neckar to prevent injury to his fortifications : lib. xxviii, c. 2, §§ 1-4, p. 406 sq., edit. Eyssenhardt. Denique cum reputaret munimentum celsum et tutum, quod ipse a primis fundarat auspiciis, praeterlabente Nicro (Neckar) nomine fluvio, paulatim subverti posse undarum pulsu inmani, meatum ipsum aliorum vertere cogitavit, &c.

Tillemont, Gibbon's "incomparable guide," gives some account of Valentinian's operations *supra impacati Rheni semibarbaras ripas*: Histoire des Empereurs, 1720, tome cinquième, Art. xxi, pp. 49-51. Valentinien fortifie les bords du Rhein, &c. L'an de Jesus Christ 369. On remarque principalement celui (château) qu'il bastit sur le Nekar, c'est à dire sans doute au lieu où cette rivière se rend dans le Rhein, et où est aujourd'hui la ville de Mannheim—il passa une partie de l'année sur les bords du Rhein. Car selon les dates des loix . . . il était le 19 du mesme mois (Juin) à Altrip entre Mannheim et Spire. The authorities quoted in the margin are abbreviated, but the expansion will be found in the Table des Citations prefixed to the volume. Gibbon, chap. xxv, vol. iii, p. 259 sq. edit. Smith. The Museum in the Schloss at Mannheim might throw some light on this subject, as it contains Römisch-germanische Funde aus der Umgegend, etc. Baedeker's Rheinlande, 1886, p. 46.

I possess a double denarius of Valentinian, which has not been published. Obv. D.N. VALENTINIANVS. P.F.AVG. ; bust to right with diadem (diadematum cum margaritis, Eckhel, viii, 150) and *paludamentum*. Rev. VOT · V · MVLT · X in a laurel wreath ; in the exergue SMAQ, *i.e.*, signata moneta Aquileiae, money struck at Aquileia. Cohen, Méd. Imp., vol. v, pp. 402-404, esp. nos. 37-48, gives many similar coins, but none, with AQ in the exergue ; nor does AQ appear in the list prefixed to the descriptions, *ibid.*, p. 390, Lettres, nombres et symboles qui se rencontrent sur les médailles de petit bronze de Valentinien ; but in the Supplément, vol. vii, p. 402, no 7, we find these words "Le n^o. 53 (revers RESTITVTOR REIPVBLICAE) avec SMAQS à l'exergue." This is evidently not the same coin as mine ; however, as far as the exergue is concerned, it differs only by a single letter.

With the embankment of this Emperor we may compare the levée on the Loire represented in Sauvagère's Recueil d'Antiquités dans les Gaules, pl. xvi, p. 159. According to Brunet, Alta Ripa on the Rhine is mentioned in the Antonine Itinerary ; but I can find there only Ripa Alta (sic) in Hungary : p. 244 edit. Wesseling, "prope Duna Szent-György (Reichard), Paks (v. Renner) ", under heading p. 241, edit Wess., Item per ripam Pannoniae a Tauruno in Gallias ad leg. xxx usque ; edit. Parthey & Pinder, pp. 112-118. This Alta Ripa is also marked in the Table of Peutinger, Segmentum V.A, North-East of Siscia (Sissek).

Atlases and maps commonly used do not give Altrip, which is an insignificant village ; but it appears in an early edition of Baedeker's Rheinreise von Basel bis Düsseldorf, Coblenz 1846, situated on the left bank of the river, south of Mannheim, about one third of the way to

Speyer : v. the latter of two maps of the Rheinthal, on a large scale, at the end of the volume. *Alt*, the first syllable of this word, must not be confounded with the German adjective *alt* old, the identity of form being of course accidental.

I have already noticed the Emperor Probus ; he displayed the greatest activity as a military commander in this region. For a medallie biography of him see *Étude historique sur M. Aur. Probus, d'après la numismatique du règne de cet Empereur*, par Émile Lépaule, Lyon, 1884, pp. 111 ; and for the part relating to Germany, chapitre iv, *Guerre des Gaules et de Germanie*, pp. 51-68. At p. 71, and p. 108 note (57) he describes a coin of this Emperor which has the following legends: Obverse, IMP *erator* C^æesar PR^{inceps} AVG^{ustus} CONSUL II ; Reverse, VICTORIA GERMANICA ; exergue, VI (sic) XX^{II}, minted at Tarragona : "c'est le seul exemplaire qui nous ait donné une date précise sur la fin de cette grande expédition de Germanie." Unfortunately for the reader, this work is not accompanied by engravings ; but the deficiency may to a great extent be supplied from the Collection de M. le Vicomte de Ponton d'Amécourt, Catalogue de Monnaies romaines, pp. 86-88, nos. 570-583 (*photogravures* taken from plaster casts and very well executed). Comp. Cohen, *Médailles Impériales*, vol. v, pp. 221-313 ; Pl. viii, opp. p. 221, part of Pl. ix, opp. p. 315 ; and esp. nos. 47, 48.

I exhibited several coins found on the banks of the Rhine, which I obtained from M. Adolph E. Cahn, of Frankfort-am-Main, with a view to illustrate the Roman occupation ; they have great interest, as showing its military character, and thus corroborating the accounts of Ammianus and other historians. With only a single exception, the devices and legends are expressive of warlike achievements—trophies, standards and captives ; VICTORIA GERMANICA, FIDES MILITVM, CONCORDIA MILIT, LEG. III. The types of these *denarii* furnish a commentary on a passage in Tacitus, *Annals* iv., 5, where he tells us that the chief strength of the Roman army lay on the Rhine ; eight legions defending that frontier, while in Spain only three were required : sed præcipuum robur Rherum juxta, commune in Germanos Gallosque subsidium, octo legiones erant. Hispaniae recens perdomitæ tribus habebantur. Cf. *ibid.* i., 3 ; and Gibbon, chap. 1, vol. 1, p. 153 sq., edit. Dr. Wm. Smith.

One of the legends, HERC. DEVSONENSI, deserves notice, because it contains an uncommon epithet ; it occurs on a *denarius* of Postumus, and is explained by some with reference to Deutz, a town opposite Cologne ; but the ancient name of this place seems to have been Divitia, and Ammianus has the derivative Divitenses, xxvi., 7, 14 ; xxvii., 1, 2, edit. Eyssenhardt : in the Middle Ages it was called Duizia. Others prefer Duisburg in Kleveberg, north of Düsseldorf ; v. De Vit, s.v. Deusonensis, in the *Onomasticon* appended to his edition of Forcellini's *Lexicon* ; he mentions Deuso, a barbarous name, and Deusa (see also Desanaus). The adjective may denote some place in which Hercules was specially venerated, cf. HERCVLI MAGVSANO, Eckhel, *Doct. Num. Vet.*, vol. vii., p. 443 sq., probably from a town called Macusa or Magusa. Hercules often appears on the coins of Postumus to signify victories over his enemies ; sometimes the busts of the hero and emperor are conjugated (*accolés*) : Cohen, *Méd. Imp.* tome v., p. 15, No. 8 ; *ibid.* p. 21, No. 52 ; in the note to p. 19 he cites the Baron de Witte, who has published

an extremely interesting article on the coins of Postumus, that exhibit the labours of Hercules, in the *Revue Numismatique* de 1844. See also *Collection d'Amécourt*, Nos. 538, 539.

We find the same myth on the coins of Probus "who passed the Rhine, and displayed his invincible eagles on the banks of the Elbe and the Neckar." Eckhel, *Doct. Num. Vet.*, vii, 504, justly remarks, *Herculis elogium, si quis alius, promeritus est Probus*. Cohen, vol. v, p. 241, No. 96. pl. ix; Hercules appears in the legend of the reverses, p. 264 sq., Nos. 278-291; various forms of the name occur—*AERCVLI*, *HERCVLI*, *ERCVLI*, v. note p. 264. *Collection d'Amécourt*, p. 88, No. 583. The sun also is a frequent type in the medals of Probus.

Another class of coins found in the Rhine-land is interesting, but for a totally different reason, viz., because they show us the last stage of degeneracy reached by the barbarous imitations of the Greek prototype—the Macedonian Philippus, known to the tiro as *regale nomisma*, Horace, *Epistles* ii, 1, 234. I refer to the *Regenbogenschüsseln* (rainbow-dishes), which are of gold—so-called from some superstition that connected them with the rainbow, and from their concave shape, resembling some examples in the Byzantine series. If we compare these rude coins with the British and Gaulish, we shall see at once that they are still further removed from the Greek—indeed at first sight it is hard to identify therein any features of the original from which they are derived.

Of the *Regenbogenschüsseln* I exhibited two specimens—the larger one (weight 110 grains) being like some figures in Mr. Evans's *Ancient British Coins*, e.g., plate B, Nos. 5 and 6. The obverse shows locks of back hair, wreath and "a rounded projection where the face should be." On the reverse we see five balls, one of them rests on two supports, and another on three, thus having the appearance of a tripod; these rude combinations are intended to represent the legs of a horse. The smaller example (weight 28 grains) has on the obverse a device, in which we may perhaps recognise a human face; on the reverse only a cross, that may probably be explained as a descendant from the earliest type in the British series. Evans, op. citat., Pl. A, Nos. 1 & 2, where we observe a cross band, at right angles to the wreath copied from the Philippus; *ibid.* p. 29, Pl. C, No. 7, "the head beginning to assume a cruciform appearance;" pp. 26-30 progressive degradation.

Keary, *Morphology of Coins*, reprinted from the *Numismatic Chronicle*, vol. v, 3rd series, pp. 165-193; esp. pp. 173, 181; Pl. viii, no 19; *ibid.* nos. 20-22, "Gaulish coinage descended from that of the Spanish colony of Rhoda," for which see Heiss, *Monnaies antiques de l'Espagne*, p. 84 sq. pl. i. Mr. Keary refers to special monographs on this subject, Streber, *Regenbogenschüsseln*, Friedländer in *Bulletino di Archeologia*; *Revue Numismatique*, 1861, p. 141 (Longpérier): and v. Mons^r. P. Charles Robert on the *Regenbogenschüsseln*.

Jacob Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie*, zweite Ausgabe, 1844, vol. ii, cap. xxii. Himmel und Gestirne, p. 694 sq. Indessen haften noch abergläubische überlieferungen. das volk wähnt, an der stelle, wo der regenbogen aufsteht, sei eine goldne schüssel, oder liege ein schatz verborgen; aus dem regenbogen fallen goldmünzen oder pfennige nieder, gefundene goldbleche heissen *regenbogenschüsseln*, patellae Iridis, die sonne verzettelte sie im regenbogen. In Baiern nennt man den regenbogen

himmelring, sonnenring, jene münzen himmelringschüsseln (Schm. 2, 196, 3, 109) vgl. oben. s. 333. For the mythology of the rainbow see also a more recent work, *Die Deutsche Volksage* von Dr. Otto Henne-Am Rhyn, 1879, Erstes Buch, Dritter Abschnitt. Die Elemente, I Die Luft, p. 58 sq.

Those who wish to compare this rainbow-gold with Gaulish money will find ample illustrations in French books on numismatics, e.g.—

Eugène Hucher, *L'Art Gaulois ou Les Gaulois d'après leurs Médailles*, 1868, 101 plates of coins, much enlarged, and classified as *Avant César* and *Du Temps de César*, besides woodcuts intercalated in the text.

Joachim Lelewel, *Type Gaulois ou Celtique*, 1841, with Atlas, Planches i-xii, of the same size as the originals.

F. De Sauley, *Lettres à M. A. De Longpérier sur la Numismatique Gauloise*, 1859, with engravings at the end of the volume.

For the worship of Mithras, to the references given above, I add the following :—

Henne-Am Rhyn, op. citat., Drittes Buch. Die Götter und Heldenage. Dritter Abschnitt. Die Götter als Helden, II Geheimnissvolle Herkunft ; p. 612 sq., Mithras. Er ist der Mittler zwischen dem guten und dem bösen Element. 1 Timothy II, 5, *Εἰς γὰρ θεὸς, εἰς καὶ μεσίτης θεοῦ καὶ ἀνθρώπων, ἄνθρωπος Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς*, one mediator between God and men. The meaning of this word is explained by Alford in his note on Hebrews, VIII, 6; cf. *ibid* XII, 24, and Galatians III, 20. The verb *μεσιτεύω* also occurs, Heb. VI, 17.

Milman, *History of Christianity*, vol. 1, p. 40, "Every foreign religion found proselytes in the capital of the world ; . . . and at a later period the reviving Mithraic mysteries, which in the same manner made their way into the Western provinces of the Empire." *Creuzer's Symbolik*, translated by M. de Guignaut, and published with the title *Religions de l'Antiquité*, I, 363; and note ⁹p. 743. See also Milman, *ibid*. II, 266 sq. The phrase *Light of Light*, applied to the second Person of the Trinity in the Nicene Creed, presents a remarkable coincidence with the character of Mithras as the Sun-god : comp. Heb. I, 3, *ὃς ὢν ἀπαύγασμα τῆς δόξης* the effulgence of his glory ; so the Revised Version, which in this case is clearly preferable to the Authorised : *Wisdom of Solomon*, VII, 26. *ἀπαύγασμα φωτὸς αὐτοῦ*. A similar idea is expressed in the account of the appearance of God to Moses in the burning-bush, Exodus III, 2-6 (cf. Numbers XXV, 4) Henne-Am Rhyn, *ibid*., p. 613. Milman, op. citat., ii, 278, *Vestiges of every kind of religion, Greek, Asiatic, Mithraic have been discovered in Gaul, but none was dominant or exclusive.*

Archæologia, vol. xlviii, pp. 1-105, esp. 19-25, *Antiquarian Researches in Illyricum* by Mr. Arthur John Evans, accompanied by a map of parts of Roman Dalmatia, between pp. 2 and 3, and another showing the course of the Roman road inland from Epitaurum (Ragusa Vecchia), facing p. 100—here the Mithraic monuments are marked. This paper is a very valuable one, on account of the information in the text and the references in the notes. At p. 22 sq. white carnelian, streaked appropriately with blood-red, is mentioned. There may perhaps be an allusion to Mithraic gems of this kind in the Apocalypse II, 17, *To him that overcometh will I give. . . a white stone (ψῆφον λευκὴν)*, and in the stone a new name written, which no man knoweth saving he that

receiveth it. Such engraved stones were given to the candidate on the successful conclusion of his probation, as a token of admission into the brotherhood, and for a means of recognition between its members: King, *The Gnostics and their Remains*, 1st edition, p. 61. Alford's Commentary, *in loco*, reproduces many unsatisfactory interpretations of the passage just quoted.

Archæologia, Index to vols. 1-50; esp. xlviii, 241-243, symbols of this cult found in London.

C. W. King, op. citat., pp. 47-64, Mithraic monuments. The Twelve Tortures or Tests—Mithraic Talismans. The Roman Mithras in his Chapel.

Sir John Malcolm, *History of Persia*, 1815, chap. vii, pp. 180-274. On the Religion, History Antiquities, and Character of the Inhabitants of Persia before the Mahomedan conquest; p. 183 and Index, Parsees or Guebers; p. 185, Primeval religion of Persia. Worship of fire first introduced by Houshung: see Plate facing p. 259, Sculpture on the face of the rock near the Tank-E-Bostan; a figure, supposed to be the prophet Zoroaster, . . . his feet rest upon a star, and his head is covered with a glory, or crown of rays. A friend informs me that the worship of the modern Guebers is, in many respects, analagous to the old Mithraicism.

Burns, *Rome and the Campagna*, p. 271, Temple of Mithras or Apollo on the Vatican, close to the Circus of Nero, but the exact site is not known; p. 371, House of his priests excavated at Ostia.

Xenophon is the earliest Greek author who mentions this deity, *Cyropædia*, vii, 5, § 53, where Artabazus swears by him, *μὰ τὸν Μίθρην*; cf. *Economicus*, iv, 24, *ὀρνευέ σοι τὸν Μίθρην*, said by Cyrus the Younger to Lysander. See Stephens, *Thesaurus Linguae Graecæ*, edit. Didot, s.v., and esp. at the end of the article, *Persis hodie Mîhr*.

Optio (a lieutenant in the army), is a conjecture that has been proposed to fill up a *lacuna* in the inscription on the monument of Caelius. Words ending in *tio* of the masculine gender occur very rarely, but feminines with the same termination are common enough; hence the former must be carefully distinguished. *Quinquentio* is another example, *i.e.*, one who practises the quinquertium (quinque, ars.) Greek *πενταθλον*, five exercises—leaping, foot-race, throwing the quoit, throwing the spear, and wrestling. Festus, edit. C. O. Müller, p. 257, Livius quoque (Andronicus) ipsos athletas sic nominat: "Quinquentiones praeco † in medium vocat:" De Vit says that the archaic form *praecod* should be read metri gratiâ. Dawson and Rushton, *Latin Terminational Dictionary*, p. 84, Third or Consonant Declension, Masculines—*io*, *ion-is*, *ion*; they write *quinqu-ert-io* (sic); *opt-io* is formed similarly.

In describing Roman antiquities on the Rhine I have had occasion to refer to the campaigns of Varus and Drusus. Hildesheim is situated between Hanover and Göttingen, not far from Detmold in the Teutoburger Wald, and Elsen, a village in Westphalia, at the confluence of the rivers Alme and Lippe. The former district was the scene of the great defeat of Varus by the German chieftain Arminius, and at the latter place, called Aliso in ancient times, Drusus erected a fortress, Hence it is probable that the objects found at Hildesheim belonged to an officer of high rank in the army either of Varus or of Drusus. See a monograph by Wieseler, and *Trésor de Hildesheim*—Notice par M. A. Darcel, Désignation et prix des pièces d'orfèvrerie...reproduites en fac-simile galvanique par MM. Christefle et Cie.

Dr. J. Keller's Memoir in the Mainz Journal of Antiquities, quoted above, pp. 499—552, is interesting from a philological point of view, because these inscriptions increase our knowledge of Latinity, exhibiting some words and expressions which occur very rarely, or not at all, in the authors that remain to us, e.g., MANTICVLARI: NEGOTIATORES, p. 502, probably retail dealers as opposed to wholesale (*magnarii*); cf. Festus, ed. C. O. Müller, p. 133, Manticularia dicuntur ea, quae frequenter in usu habentur, et quasi manu tractantur: DVP, pp. 507, 516 *duplarius*, a soldier who receives double pay: Vide Hübner, Inserr. Brit. Lat., *duplarius* No. 571, *duplicarius* No. 1090.

I have said that qu had the same sound as k in Latin; it must be admitted that some grammarians do not agree with this opinion; possibly two different pronunciations were adopted simultaneously, as is the case with many words in our own language, where no rule is fixed by any recognised authority.

Conybeare and Howson, Life and Epistles of St. Paul, 8vo. edition, i., 456, note 11, remark, "So, in Martial, Tacitus and Suetonius, Livia and Livilla, Drusa and Drusilla, are used of the same person." I have not found Drusa in these writers.

It is to be regretted that accounts of antiquities at Mayence are *dispersed*; no archaeological and historical handbook for this city has appeared corresponding to Leonardy's Panorama von Trier und dessen Umgebungen, or to Regensburg in seiner Vergangenheit und Gegenwart by Hugo Graf von Walderdorff.

I subjoin some additional references for the vexed question of the Murrhina. Propertius, iv, 10, 22,

Et crocino nares murreus ungat onyx,

with Paley's note on v, 5. 26. Wilkinson's Ancient Egyptians, vol. iii, Contents p. viii, pp. 111 sq.: he inclines to the opinion that the murrhine was fluor spar, and that the Egyptian porcelain was the false murrhine of the ancients. Böttiger's Sabina, Sach-und Wortregister, vol. i, p. 44; vol. ii, p. 33. Hirth, China and the Roman Orient, 1885, p. 228, note 1. The red glass referred to in the Chinese authors may have been an imitation murrhine. For the trade between Rome and China see pp. 225—228, and Contents, p. xv.

I have already mentioned the use of perfumes in connexion with cremation and funeral rites. Cicero, De Legibus ii, 24 (Dictionary of Antiquities, p. 559 s.v. Funus), calls this practice *sumptuosa respersio*. Cf. Persius, Satires, iii, 104,

crassisque lutatus amomis.

vi, 34—36,

urnae

Ossa inodora dabit, seu spirent cinnama surdum,

Seu ceraso peccent casiae, nescire paratus.

v. Giffords Translation and Heinrich's note on the latter passage. Beim *ossilegium* pflegte man Wohlgerüche mit in die Urne zu legen, namentlich *cinnama*, κίνναμον, s. Schneider, s.v., und *casia* eine Arabische Staude mit zimmtartiger Rinde, &c.

Subsequently to Dr. Hodgkin's essay on the Pfahlgraben, two papers have appeared on the same subject in the journals of our learned Societies—one by Mr. James Hilton, entitled "The Pfahlgraben and Saalburg Camp," Archaeol. Journ., 1884, vol. xli, pp. 203-210; the other by Mr. F. G. Hilton Price in the Proceedings of the Society of

Antiquaries, March 20, 1890, 2nd series, vol. xiii, pp. 110-120—"Notes on recent excavations on the Saalburg, near Homburg." The former memoir treats of the Limes Transrhenanus in relation to the Roman walls and camps in Northumberland, v. esp. p. 206; the latter is interesting because it gives us intelligence concerning discoveries made in August, 1889, and a detailed account of the objects previously deposited in the Homburg Museum.

For the Inscriptions see the *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kunst*, 1885, Jahrgang IV. Heft IV., pp. 388-403, *Die Inschriften der Saalburg bei Homburg*. Von A. Hammeran. The text is accompanied by numerous fac-similes, of which the most important is given on p. 389, with the expansion p. 392 sq.

Section 322 of C. O. Müller's *Handbook of Archaeology* is the most important for Mosaics, because it contains the fullest details as well as references to other parts of his book. It comes under the head of *Technics of the Formative Art*, B 2, and is entitled *Designing by the junction of solid materials, mosaic-work*. As an accompaniment to treatises, such as those of Müller and Winckelmann, it would be well to consult Sillig, *Catalogus Artificum*. He has arranged the architects, sculptors, painters and engravers in alphabetical order, and given many passages, particularly from Pliny, *in extenso*, e.g., p. 428: *Nat. Hist.*, lib. xxxvi, 25, § 60, where the doves of Sosus are described.

Like the Darmstadt mosaic, the one at Lillebonne (Juliobona) bears, as stated above, an inscription: *Grande Mosaïque antique trouvée à Lillebonne (Seine Inférieure)*. Notice explicative, 1885, Pl. i-iv, p. 6. *Apollon poursuivant Daphné*. On lit dans deux cartouches blancs en lettres noires bien formées.

En haut: T(itus). SEN(nius) FELIX. C(ivis). PVTEOLANVS. F(ecit).

Et. en bas: ET. AMOR C(ivis) K(arthaginiensis) DISCIPVLVS.

(*Fait par Titus Sennius Félix, citoyen de Pouzzolles, et par Amor, citoyen de Carthage, son élève*).

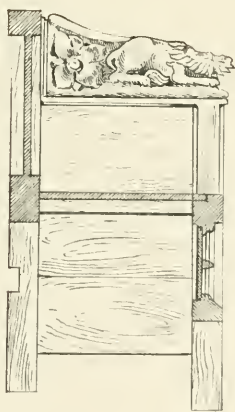
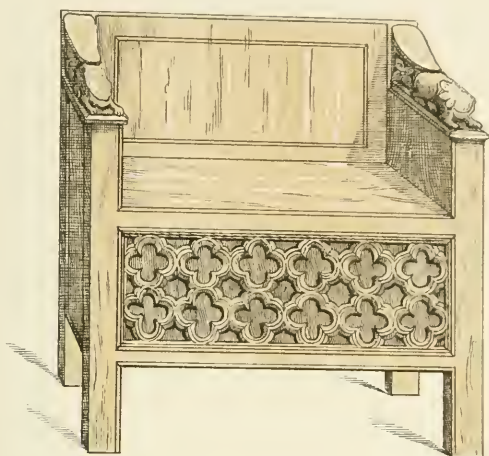
Byzantine mosaics are briefly noticed by Müller, op. citat., § 212, Remark 4. To his references add Theophilus (Rugerus), lib. ii, cap. xv, *De vitro Graeco quod musivum opus decorat*; and Preface to Hendrie's Edition and Translation, p. xxxvi, note 2, where instead of *fsefōsis* read *psephōsis* (ψήφωσις).

ANCIENT CHAIR, LINCOLN MINSTER.¹

By the REV. PRECENTOR VENABLES.

The fourteenth century work chair here illustrated belongs to Lincoln Minster. For a century or more this interesting relic of the past was stowed away, as a useless encumbrance, in the vestibule of the Cathedral Library. It has now found a more appropriate place in the recently restored Chapter House, for which it is not improbable that it may have been originally constructed. It has been always traditionally known as the "Bishop's Chair," and such may have been its original purpose. A suggestion has, however, been hazarded, which is not undeserving of consideration, that it was made as for a throne for the Sovereign when he presided at one of the meetings of Parliament which were held during the reigns of the three Plantagenet Edwards in Lincoln, and some of them certainly in the Chapter House. The character of the ornamentation coincides with that period. Mr. Pearson places it quite at the beginning of the fourteenth century. It would be interesting if we could thus connect it with the Great Parliament held in Lincoln in 1301, when the Charters were renewed and the claims of Boniface VIII. to arbitrate in the disputed succession to the Scottish throne was indignantly repudiated. But whether constructed for the use of the Bishop or of the King, it is an undoubted example of early fourteenth century upholstery, and apart from any historical interest which may be assigned to it, it is of great value from the rarity of specimens of furniture of that date. It must be confessed that the chair is of very rude not to say clumsy construction, though it is not wanting in a certain dignity in keeping with its purpose. It is simply framed of massive oak, consisting of four stout upright pieces, with a cross

¹ Read at the Monthly Meeting of the Institute, December 4th, 1890.



ANCIENT CHAIR IN LINCOLN CATHEDRAL.

piece at top behind, and others at the level of the seat which rests upon them. There are two arms curving downwards from the back, supporting lions couchant, which it will be seen from the illustration have had their heads and paws grievously mutilated. The outer side of the arms towards the back is ornamented with an eight-leaved expanded flower, with a four-leaved central cup. The front panel below the seat is carved with two horizontal rows of quatrefoils, six in each row. The sides are fitted with plain panels, some portions of which are certainly modern.

The dimensions of the chair are, height back, 3ft. 11in. ; front, 3ft. 3½in. ; up to the seat, 2ft. 5in. ; depth of the back from the seat to the horizontal cross-piece, 1ft. 6½in. ; breadth of seat, 3ft. 2in. ; depth, 1ft. 11in.

The chair has been brutally hacked in several places, and we may well feel thankful that so interesting a relic of antiquity, which has evidently been so little cared for, has escaped complete destruction.

Proceedings at Meetings of the Royal Archaeological Institute.

June 5th, 1890.

CHANCELLOR FERGUSON, F.S.A., V.P., in the Chair.

The Rev. G. I. CHESTER communicated a paper by Professor Sayce on a Hittite Seal purchased at Smyrna by himself. This is printed at p. 215.

Mr. F. HAVERFIELD sent "Notes on some Museums in Galicia and Transilvania," which will appear in a future number of the *Journal*.

Votes of thanks were passed to Mr. Chester and Mr. Haverfield.

Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By the Rev. G. I. CHESTER.—A Hittite Seal.

By Mr. F. HAVERFIELD.—Photographs in illustration of his paper.

By Mr. H. S. COWPER.—Rubbings of brasses from Middlesex. Mr Cowper contributed the following notes upon these antiquities:—

"BRASSES IN THE PARISH CHURCHES OF WILLESDEN, GREAT GREENFORD, AND ACTON, CO. MIDDLESEX.—These brasses are ten in number, five of which are at Willesden, four at Great Greenford, and one at Acton. They are mentioned in Haines' list, but since that work was published, some of the inscriptions and figures have disappeared, and in some cases they occupy different positions in the church.

"In the following list, Haines' description is put first and my own notes follow.

WILLESDEN.

"1. *Barth. Willesden comptroller of the great roll of pipe 1492, and Ws. Margt. and Margt., with 4 daus., one v. and inscr. lost, C.*

"Only Bartholomew and one wife (on his left) are now to be found: the four daughters having gone since Haines' time. I think there is nothing unusual in the costume of either of the remaining figures. This brass was mural in the choir, when the list was made, but is now on the choir floor.

"2. *Margt. Roberts, dau. of Robt. Fyncham Esq. 1505 (?), with 3 sons, and 3 daus. N.*

"Here also the small figures have disappeared, and Margaret Roberts only is left. Mural in N. Aisle in Hayne's time, now on the choir floor.

"3. *Wm. Lichefeld, LL.D. Vicar, residentiary of St. Paul's Cath. 1517, in cope and cap, C.*

"He is dressed as Christopher Urswick (see Haines, p. cccxxviii.) in processional or canonical vestments, consisting of cap. almuze (inlaid, but now gone), surplice, cape, and cassock, the last of which covers his feet.

"Mural in choir in Haines' time, now on the choir floor.

"4. *Edm. Roberts, Esq., of Neasden, 1585, in arm. with 2 ws., Fraunces, dau. and h. of Rich. Welles, Esq., of Hertford (with 2 sons and 4 daus.), and Fayth, dau. and h. of John Patterson, gent., of London (with 2 sons and 1 dau.), 16 Eng. vv. and 2 eleg. vv., probably palimpsest, C.*

"A very fine brass of the period made up of 12 separate plates :

"The inscriptions are as follows : above the figures, 'Here lieth buried the bodey of Edmund Roberts of Neasdon Esquyer | together with the bodey of ffrauncys Welles hys first wyfe daughter and | heyre of Richarde Welles of the countye of Hertforde Esquyer by whome he | had twoo sonnes and foure daughters after whose death he tooke to wyfe | ffayth Pattenson daughter & heyre of John Patenson of London gent and | by her he had twoo sonnes and one daughter he died the fyfth daye of June.'

' 1585.'

"Below the figures

' Happy was he that lyethe heere
In blood in matche and progenye
whoo lyved thre and there score yeare
and layde him doune in peace to dye
who long before the poor sustein'd
In tyme of their great lack and neede
His joye was such he thought all gaind
to comforte them in woorde and deede
And when his soule did seeke release
from beinge bounde with fleshy chayne
In praesing God he did not cease
with happye fayth to lyve agayne
So like a lambe he went away
and left good land unto his sonne
who long may live the poore do pray
good house to keepe as he hath done.'

"And below this on a separate plate,

' Ista sue benefida fides monumenta marito
ponit ut officio ? pignora certa suo'

"Observe the pun on the name of his second wife ffayth in the twelfth line of the verse :—

' With happye fayth to lyve agayne.'

"Edmund Roberts is a fine figure in full armour, presenting the not uncommon anomaly of standing with his feet on a bit of flowery turf, while his head is represented resting on a helmet. The plate is not cut to the figure and probably is a priest or a lady on the other side. The other figures present nothing unusual. In the three shields the colouring matter representing the tinctures has as usual disappeared. Now on the choir floor as in Haines' time.

"There are other monuments (not brasses) to the Roberts' family in the church.

"5. *Jane, w. of John Barne, Esq. ; 1609, m: 49 years and 7 months, and 2 daus. Mary, w. of Franc. Roberts, Esq., of Wilsdon, and Elizth., w. of Edw. Altham, of Latton, Essex, eff. of one dau. lost, C.*¹

"This brass is in the same condition and place as in Haines' time ; and when I rubbed it about a year ago the smaller figure was only held in its place by one or two nails, and much dirt having got in betwixt the figure and the stone it was bent ; and as the rubbing shows partly broken. The figures are fine examples of the costume of the period.

GREAT GREENFORD.

"6. *A priest, C. 1450 hf. eff. inscr. lost. Perhaps Simon Hert, rector, 1452.*

"A pretty little brass. The scroll above the head bears the inscription 'Credo vider' bona dñi' in terra viventiu.' It is now mural in the chancel.

"7. *A Lady, C. 1480, inscr. lost.*

"A small plain figure of the usual type. It is in the nave near the S. door.

"8. *Thos. Symons, rector, 2 Lat vv. C. 1515, now mar. He resigned 1518.*

"This has been restored, which fact is recorded by a brass plate under the figure inscribed :—

Edw : Betham, Rector.
MDCCLXX—MDCCLXXXIII.
H. T. S. M. P. C.

"9. *Rich. Thorneton, 1544, and w. Alys (eff. lost).*

"This is now in the nave near the S. door.

ACTON.

"10. *Humphry Cavell, Esq. 1558, mur.*

"A small kneeling figure reset. The arms above seem to be, Erm. a lamb gu. in chief a fleur de lis of the second impaling arg. a Saltire sable betw. 4 birds (? ravens) of the 2nd."

By MR. J. L. ANDRÉ.—A bronze weight bearing on one side the Royal arms and motto, the other side having been carefully tooled to bring the weight to 7lb exactly, a clove or half a stone. This object was bought in Horsham with no history attached to it. The letters C. R. over the shield show it to be of the time of Charles I or Charles II. The shield exhibits, quarterly, 1, England, 2, Scotland, 3, Ireland, and 4, France. The proper coat of the Stuart Kings was, quarterly :—1 and 4, grand quarters, France Modern and England quarterly, 2nd grand quarter, Scotland, 3rd grand quarter, Ireland.

July 3rd, 1890.

The REV. F. SPURRELL in the Chair.

PROF. B. LEWIS read a paper "On the Roman Antiquities of Augsburg and Ratisbon."

¹ She was dau. of one Robert Langton. (Lyson's "Environs of London.")

² About an inch of the lower part of this figure is probably concealed under the floor.

The Roman remains in the former city are to be seen almost exclusively in the Maximilian Museum. The following are among the most remarkable: an inscription upon a milestone which records the repair of roads and bridges by Septimius Severus and Caracalla (the latter is called Marcus Aurelius Antoninus); another inscription which commemorates the erection of a temple by clothiers (in this case Augsburg is called *Ælia Augusta*, in compliment to the Emperor Hadrian); the *decuriones* also are mentioned, who administered local affairs like a town council. A relief representing a cask on a four-wheeled cart was probably the sign of a wineshop. Two draped figures in niches have been named *dumviri*, i.e., the two chief magistrates in a provincial city, corresponding with the consuls at Rome, but this attribution is uncertain. A statue of Mercury is interesting because the deity carries a winged infant, Cupid, seated on a money-bag. Welser's "History of Augsburg," published at Venice, 1594, contains a full description and a fine engraving of a mosaic that has disappeared; it represented a chariot race and groups of gladiators contending in various attitudes; it was, therefore, superior to the pavement at Rheims, where there are only single figures. The walls of the Roman *castrum* at Ratisbon have been carefully investigated, and for the most part the remains are sufficient to enable us to trace them clearly. On the western side of this fortified city a town grew up, like the civil settlements at the Saalburg. In 1885 the Porta Prætoria, facing the Danube, was laid open; it is very remarkable as a gate that is purely military, devoid of ornament, but imposing in its massive simplicity. On the other hand, the fragments of the Porta Principalis Dextra show that it was decorated; its chief interest for us consists in the inscription on the attic recording its erection by Marcus Aurelius and Commodus. The Roman cemetery, as at Strasbourg, is close to the railway station. An elaborate plan of it has been published by Her Dahlem, showing the direction in which the bodies were placed, and many other details. A little further from the town, near the village of Kumpfmühl, Roman baths were discovered, also in 1885. From the objects found it is inferred that they were erected in the first half of the second century; the building was probably destroyed by the Marcomanni at the beginning of the reign of M. Aurelius.

Professor Lewis's paper will appear in due course in the *Journal*.

Mr. E. W. Beck read a paper on "The Keys of St. Peter at Liege and Maestricht," which is printed at p. 334.

Votes of thanks were passed to Prof. Lewis and to Mr. Beck.

Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By Prof. LEWIS.—Coins, engravings, and photographs in illustration of his paper.

ANNUAL MEETING AT GLOUCESTER.

August 12th to August 19th, 1890.

The Mayor of Gloucester (W. Stafford, Esq.) and the members of the Corporation assembled at noon in the Corn Exchange, and received the President of the Meeting, Sir J. Dorington, Bart., M.P., and the following Presidents and Vice-Presidents of Sections, and members of the Council:—Mr. E. Freshfield (President of the Antiquarian Section), Professor E. C. Clark, Mr. A. J. Evans, the Rev. A. S. Porter, the Very Rev. the Dean of Gloucester (President of the Historical Section), Mr. T. H. Baylis, Q.C., Mr. Chancellor Ferguson, Sir J. Maclean, Professor Montagu Burrows, Professor J. H. Middleton (President of the Architectural Section), Mr. C. J. Ferguson, Mr. J. T. Micklethwaite, the Rev. Precentor Venables, the Rev. Sir Talbot Baker, Bart, the Hon. Mr. Justice Pinhey, Dr. M. W. Taylor, Mr. Hartshorne, the Rev. F. Spurrell, Mr. W. H. St. J. Hope, Mr. E. Green, Mr. H. Jones, Mr. G. E. Fox, Mr. R. W. Taylor and Mr. J. Hilton, and a large number of members of the Institute, and Vice-Presidents of the Meeting.

The Mayor of Gloucester, on taking the chair, welcomed the Institute on behalf of the Corporation and called upon the Town Clerk to read the following address:—

“To the Royal Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland.—We, the Mayor, Aldermen, and Citizens of the city of Gloucester in the county of the city of Gloucester, desire to offer a most hearty welcome to the members of the Institute on the occasion of their again holding an annual meeting in the city of Gloucester. We believe much good has resulted from the meetings and work of the Institute and kindred Societies, which not only engender a more general interest in Archæological matters, and thereby secure the protection of ancient buildings, but also exercise a most beneficial influence in the restoration thereof. The transactions of such societies are also of special importance as they ensure a lasting record of much that is valuable which otherwise might not be preserved. The programme of the present meeting comprises several very attractive items. Our Cathedral and other buildings in the city are full of interest, both architecturally and from their association with many important incidents in the past history of England; and the proposed excursions to various Roman villas, the Saxon Chapel and Church at Deerhurst, Tewkesbury Abbey, Berkeley and Sudeley Castles, and Prinknash Park will be of no little interest from an archæological point of view, and will also prove a pleasant relaxation from the work of the sectional meetings. An inspection of the city will show that although considerable changes have taken place since the former meeting of the Institute in Gloucester, thirty years ago, special care has been taken to preserve portions of the Roman walls and pavements and other interesting remains. The members of the Institute will be pleased to learn that the Corporation have recently caused their ancient and interesting charters and muniments to be carefully arranged and calendared, and that a somewhat full report thereon is now being issued by the Historical Manuscript Commission. In conclusion we venture to hope that the present meeting may prove interesting and

pleasurable to the members of the meeting, and also tend to maintain the high reputation of the Institute."

In taking the chair at the instance of the Mayor, and accepting from him the illuminated address, Lord Percy thanked the Mayor and Corporation for the very kind reception which they had accorded to the Members of the Institute. They had the satisfaction of knowing that the invitation they had received to pay a visit to this district was a hearty one, and that it was believed the district would be found to be of interest to them, and he assured them that they accepted that invitation from no light reasons. It was the earnest wish of the members of the Institute, in carrying out the programme that was arranged, to increase their knowledge of archaeology, and their interest in the remains which had been handed down to us; and the only doubt that existed in his mind was that they might possibly bore those who so kindly entertained them. It was with very great satisfaction that they received the assurance of such hearty welcome in the words which had been used by the Mayor and Town Clerk. They hoped that the visit which the Institute was paying would redound to the advantage of all concerned, in possibly stimulating an interest in archaeological pursuits, and throwing some light possibly upon various disputed points, light which could be thrown not so much because they ventured to arrogate to themselves any superior knowledge over an antiquarian locality, but from the fact that fresh thought was brought to bear upon them, and difficult questions were put in a fresh light. There was no doubt that the members of the Institute would derive the very greatest advantage from the visit, and it was a real pleasure to them to have an opportunity of seeing the objects of interest which were so numerous in all parts of the country, and which, if he might judge from the programme before them, were more numerous in the neighbourhood of Gloucester than in most parts of the country the Institute had visited. It would be impossible for them to take in all the points of interest which, with their limited knowledge of the locality, they should have liked to see, but he knew that was not the fault of anyone in the district, least of all to that very able and energetic local society which had done so much to secure their pleasure on the present occasion. They were a little inclined to err on the side of trying to cram too many things into one day, which not only spoilt the pleasure, but diminished the profit that resulted, because, when their inspections were hurried over, one thing drove another out of the mind. It was better to do a little well, than to do much in an imperfect manner. He more particularly alluded to this because, as he had before intimated, Gloucester and its neighbourhood presented a larger field to the members of the Institute than many other localities they visited. Nothing remained for him but to again thank the Mayor and Corporation and the inhabitants of Gloucester for their very kind reception of the Institute. He also thanked the local Society for the very great assistance they had rendered them and were prepared to render to them during their stay in promoting their convenience and in increasing their knowledge.

Sir BROOK KAY then read the following address:—

"My Lord Percy, Sir John Dorington, my Lords, Ladies and Gentlemen,—As President of the Council of the Bristol and Gloucestershire

Archæological Society, I am desired, in the name of the Council and members, to offer a very hearty welcome to the Royal Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland to this county. Thirty years have passed since your society held its first meeting at Gloucester; but the results of your visit have made a lasting impression on our study of mediæval art and history. It was in the able address of that learned antiquary Professor Willis that our attention was first called to the fact, so clearly and undoubtedly written in the MS. history of St. Peter's Abbey, that here in our noble Cathedral was originated not only the style of architecture called Perpendicular, but also that form of groining known as fan tracery, which has never been excelled. We cannot forget that many residents of this county who took part in your reception at that time (I may mention Sir William Guise, Mr. Gambier Parry, Mr. John Niblett, and Canon Lysons) have been taken from us, and a new generation of students of archæology has risen up in their stead. We do not doubt, however, that the same interest that was manifested in your proceedings in 1860 will again be taken on the present occasion by the inhabitants of this city and county. We would gladly show you some of the Roman camps and Norman churches, in which this county abounds; but in Gloucester Cathedral and Tewkesbury Abbey you will have excellent examples of the many religious houses that gave rise in this vale of the Severn to the ancient adage 'as sure as God is in Gloucestershire.' At Sudeley, sad memories of the closing days of Queen Katherine Parr, and of the troublous times in the middle of the seventeenth century in which no county had a greater share than Gloucestershire, will be awakened in your minds; at Woodchester, at Chedworth, and at Spoonley, you will have interesting examples of the Roman villas with which the county west of the Cotswold is thickly studded. An excursion will be made to visit Berkeley with its baronial castle, dating from the twelfth century, still in a perfect condition of repair. It is to be regretted that time will not admit of a visit to Thornbury, with its fine church, and its Tudor Castle, the unfinished conception of the princely but unfortunate Buckingham of the reign of Henry VIII. We congratulate you on the great work that your Society has achieved during the last half-century. The Bristol and Gloucestershire Society, with an average membership of well nigh 500, since its foundation in 1876, has been endeavouring to follow in your footsteps, and awaken the interest of our countrymen in the monuments and records of the past. We venture to hope that our volumes of transactions, which have been edited for fourteen years by a distinguished member of the Royal Archæological Institute, may meet with your approval, and assist you in the study of those objects of interest which it is your intention to examine."

Earl PERCY said he had already had the pleasure of expressing the thanks of the Institute to the local Society for their co-operation and support, and now they had added to these the kindness of an address. They well knew the leading part which the Bristol and Gloucestershire Society took amongst provincial societies and he was glad to think that it was doing so much in the promotion of archæological research.

Lord Percy then surrendered the chair to Sir John Dorington, who delivered his Inaugural Address. This is printed at p. 359.

A cordial vote of thanks having been passed to Sir John Dorington, the meeting adjourned.

At 2 p.m., the members assembled at the Museum. Here Mr. J. Bellows made some observations upon Roman Gloucester, and described the very interesting results of the excavations he had made. Mr. Bellows's descriptions, were given with singular lucidity, and his rapid survey was rendered the more valuable by several handy plans which were distributed to the members. In speaking of the large quantity of Roman remains that he had found upon his property in Eastgate Street, Mr. Bellows exhibited some choice and frail examples, among them was the pot that had boiled, and the bone spoon that had been laid ready to eat the hard-boiled Roman egg which the speaker found with his own hands, and which faded into dust before his eyes.

The members now divided into two parties, the Roman antiquaries inspecting Roman Gloucester under the guidance of Mr. Bellows, and the Mediævalists mediæval Gloucester under the able direction of Mr. F. W. Waller, and Mr. H. Medland. The former party concluded a most interesting tour at the excavations made on the north side of the choir of the cathedral where, at a depth of ten feet, the Roman Wall of the city had been specially laid bare for this occasion. This showed that the south-west Wall took an oblique line about midway across the nave of the Cathedral, that it encircled the north transept with its rounded north-west corner, and just skirted the north-east angle of the Lady Chapel as it ran on to the eastern corner of the Roman city.

The mediæval party visited successively the churches of St. Nicholas, St. Mary de Lode, and St. Mary de Crypt. St. Nicholas' church, originally Norman, has some features of interest, such as the remains of the early church, the seventeenth century monuments, particularly that which includes the effigy of John Walton, died 1625—a valuable example of civic costume,—examples of late woodwork and ironwork, and a beautiful bronze handle on the south door of foreign, perhaps Italian workmanship, and spoken of, upon evidence not forthcoming, as “a Sanctuary Knocker.” The cross church of St. Mary de Crypt, like all cross churches, has much interest. The name is derived from the *ossuarium* or chancel house formed beneath the nave, as in the similar case at Rothwell, in Northamptonshire. Certain of the planning and constructional details recall the work at the Cathedral, but the nave and aisle under one huge roof are unsatisfactory; still more so is the “restored” Norman west door. The church of St. Mary de Lode is interesting on account of its chancel, of which the western portion is Norman, and the eastern Early English, vaulted in two bays. Many old houses having been inspected, including the secularised remains of the churches and buildings of the Grey Friars, and of the Blackfriars, the two parties joined again at the palace where they were received with graceful hospitality by the Bishop of Gloucester and Mrs. Ellicott. Here, in the reconstructed Abbot's Hall the Bishop felicitously recalled a long train of historical memories, to which the Rev. W. Bazley added many like things from his ample stores of information.

At 8 p.m. Mr. E. Freshfield opened the Antiquarian section in the Lecture Room of the School of Arts, and delivered his Address. This is printed at p. 268.

Professor Montagu Burrows read a paper:—“Oxford as a factor in the progress of Archæology.” This is printed at p. 351.

Votes of thanks were passed to the authors of these papers, and the meeting adjourned.

Wednesday August 13th.

At 10 a.m., the members proceeded by steamboat up the Severn to Deerhurst. The Rev. G. Butterworth and Professor Middleton were here the exponents of the church; and of the chapel of Odda, discovered in 1885 enshrined, or rather concealed within the walls of an adjacent farm house. It may be recalled that the consecration stone dated in the fourteenth year of Edward the Confessor 1056, and long preserved in the Ashmolean Museum is now known to refer, not to the church which, indeed, still has plenty of interest of its own, but to the little chapel which was so fortunately discovered five years ago. The steamboat having been regained the members continued their journey to Tewkesbury.

After luncheon at the Swan Hotel the Abbey Church was visited. Mr. Hartshorne took the party in hand and read a paper giving a general architectural history and description of this solemn and striking church, and touching with some detail upon the effigies, monuments, and painted glass. Mr. Hartshorne's paper is printed at p. 290.

In consequence of the untoward state of the weather many of the members were unable to take part in the perambulation of the town. The Rev. A. S. Porter therefore agreeably occupied some of the time by reading "Some Notes on the Ancient Encaustic Tiles in Tewkesbury Abbey." This is printed at p. 311.

Gloucester was again reached by steamboat at 7 p.m.

At 9 p.m. Professor Middleton opened the Architectural Section in the Lecture Room of the School of Art and delivered his Address. This is printed at p. 343.

Mr. Bellows then continued his observations upon Roman Gloucester, and votes of thanks having been passed, the meeting adjourned.

Thursday August 14th.

At 10 a.m., the General Annual Meeting of Members of the Institute was held in the Tolsey, Earl Percy in the chair.

Mr. Gosselin read the following Report for the past year:—

"REPORT OF THE COUNCIL FOR THE YEAR 1889-90.

"The forty-seventh Annual Report is now placed before the members. During the past year the Council has strenuously endeavoured to advance the status of the Institute, to enlarge its work, and to make its proceedings attractive. The desire has been to increase the number of its members, and it is hoped a successful step in that direction will ere long be made. For the present the number of annual subscribers is practically unaltered, our loss has been fifteen, our gain has been thirteen new subscribing and life-members.

"The financial position is not unsatisfactory when compared with recently passed years, the annual expenditure is being brought yet more nearly within the year's revenue, while careful attention is paid to keeping prospective liabilities within the estimated means at the disposal of the Council. The balance in hand at the close of the year 1889, as shown by the audited account in the hands of the assembled members, is £10. 10s. 10d. With regard to this the Council would add one remark, that the end of a financial year is not the favourable period for the account to bear a flourishing aspect; the income is spent and the influx

of the subscriptions due on the day following has not commenced, so that there is no cause for apprehension when considering our valid resources and the value of our property. In view, however, of a speedy extinction of liabilities the honorary Auditors have recommended that an effort should be made to clear them off; the Council therefore suggests that an appeal should be made to the liberality of members. Before acceding to this proposal, some substantial promises were made; a few more such would relieve the Institute from the burden of the only outstanding account, viz., the printer's bill, which the Council has always to consider at its meetings. It is hoped that members will find it agreeable to subscribe, as well as to help by obtaining fresh candidates for membership. The arrears of annual subscriptions are not heavy, yet such arrears are the source of much trouble to the honorary Treasurer. The Secretary is using his best endeavours to collect them.

"The Council, under the directions given at the last Annual Meeting, has revised the terms of subscription, by a resolution passed at the General Meeting of members held on the 17th April last, whereby the entrance fee was reduced to one guinea, and the life-membership raised to fifteen guineas; it is expected that this will encourage persons to become annual members.

"Among the advantages available to members, the Council would again allude to the Library, and to the services rendered by Mr. E. C. Hulme, the honorary Librarian, in the entire re-arrangement of it, and the production of the catalogue. The latter is now ready for delivery to subscribers and others as previously arranged. The Institute possesses also a large collection of prints and drawings which are now being catalogued by Mr. Gosselin.

"The study and practical application of Archaeology alluded to in the last report, has since been advanced by certain of the local Societies in union with the Society of Antiquaries, discussing proposals to effect the purpose. The Institute has been represented at the conferences held at the Society's rooms at Burlington House, and the Council asks the meeting to sanction a moderate contribution towards the expenses, such as printing and circulating the recommendations.

"With regard to events of current archaeology; attention being called to the proposed restoration of the well known Priory church of Christchurch, Hants, Mr. Thackeray Turner and Mr. Gosselin were deputed to visit and inspect the building, and the subject is under consideration. Another important event has been the starting of renewed excavations at Silchester in Hampshire, on the site of the Roman city Calleva (as it is generally believed to be), conducted by the Society of Antiquaries. From this great work we may hope for many discoveries when the land is cleared from the crops now growing on it. It may also be mentioned that the Institute was again represented this year at the congress of the Société Française d'Archéologie by Mr. Herbert Jones and Mr. Gosselin.

"The Council refers with much satisfaction to the Meeting held last year at Norwich, and to the singularly important examples of mediæval church architecture seen during the excursions in the county of Norfolk, which are hardly to be equalled elsewhere in this country. The cordial reception by the Mayor and Corporation was highly appreciated.

"The Council has received from the President and Council of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, an invitation to hold our annual

Meeting for 1891, at Edinburgh; this has been accepted subject to the approval of the meeting, which the Council believes will be gladly accorded.

"The Institute has to regret the loss by death of the Rev. H. M. Scarth, a short notice of whom appears on page 179 in the June number of the *Journal*. Mr. R. H. Soden Smith has been taken from us in his 69th year. He was a frequent contributor to our earlier volumes, and an accurate interpreter of objects of art of varied interest. Mr. John Clayton, of Chesters, perhaps the most distinguished, as he was the Nestor of the Northern Antiquaries, and the loving owner of many miles of Hadrian's Great Barrier, has passed away. On two occasions he entertained the Institute with princely hospitality. Mr. Roach Smith, the Nestor of the Southern Antiquaries, has followed his lifelong friend, and like him, full of years and learning.

"The *Journal* continues to be edited by Mr. A. Hartshorne, but is illustrated necessarily without pressing too heavily on the means of the Institute. Economy cannot be further exercised without impairing the efficiency of the work, but the Council has reason to believe that an increase in the quality and number of the illustrations would be a welcome improvement.

"The members of the Governing body who retire by rotation this year under the rules of the Institute are, Vice-President, Sir C. T. Newton, K.C.B., Members of the Council—Mr. E. C. Hulme, Mr. H. Hutchings, the Rev. J. H. Bigge, Lieut.-Gen. A. Lane Fox Pitt-Rivers, the Hon. H. A. Dillon, and Mr. E. Peacock.

"The Council would recommend for election:—Honorary Vice-President, Sir C. T. Newton, K.C.B. Vice President, Lieut.-Gen. A. Lane Fox Pitt-Rivers. Members of the Council, Mr. E. C. Hulme, Mr. H. Hutchings, Rev. J. H. Bigge, the Hon. H. A. Dillon, Mr. G. E. Fox, and Mr. R. W. Taylor, and as Junior Hon. Auditor, Mr. M. Stephenson."

In proposing the adoption of the Report, LORD PERCY alluded to the desirability of increasing the number of members, and spoke hopefully of the gradually improving condition of the Institute. Much credit was due to Mr. Hulme for the catalogue of the library of the Institute, a copy of which was laid upon the table by the Treasurer. Among the losses by death that of Mr. Scarth was a great one; in the case of Mr. Clayton he was glad to know that his valuable collections from the Roman wall would be gathered into a special museum by the present representative of the family. As to the archæological conferences held at Burlington House, Lord Percy thought they would bear good fruit and bring about more cohesion between the different societies.

The adoption of the Report was seconded by the Rev. Sir TALBOT BAKER, and carried unanimously.

The adoption of the Balance Sheet was moved by Mr. J. Hilton, who spoke generally upon it, and in answer to a question of Mr. Cates, mentioned the difficulty of showing exactly at any given time by means of a balance sheet the state of the Institute's funds. Mr. R. W. Taylor and Professor Clark spoke at some length upon the financial position and prospects of the Society. Mr. E. Green seconded the adoption of the Balance Sheet, which was then carried unanimously.

With regard to the index of the second twenty-five volumes of the *Journal*, Precentor Venables spoke of its importance. Mr. Hilton said

the council had not been unmindful of it, but inasmuch as it would be a work of considerable expense, they had thought it prudent to let it wait for the present.

As to the place of meeting in 1891, Mr. Gosselin laid before the members the invitation that had been received from Edinburgh. The noble chairman moved, and the Rev. F. Spurrell seconded, that it be accepted. This was carried unanimously.

The following new members were elected:—Mr. W. Pearce, proposed by the Rev. A. S. Porter, seconded by the Rev. Sir Talbot Baker; Mr. W. T. Linskill, proposed by the Rev. W. Walsh, seconded by Mr. Gosselin; Mr. E. J. B. Scrutton, proposed by the Rev. W. Walsh, seconded by Mr. Gosselin; Mr. G. S. Blakeway, proposed by Mr. W. H. St. John Hope.

A vote of thanks to Mr. F. S. Waller and Mr. F. W. Waller, for their valuable illustrated 4to pamphlet—"Gloucester Cathedral Notes and Sketches," brought the meeting to an end.

At 11 a.m. the Dean of Gloucester opened the Historical Section in the Chapter House and delivered his Address. This is printed at p. 302.

A slight discussion arose as to whether the central portion of the crypt was a portion of Abbot Eldred's church (1059) *in situ*, as Mr. Gambier Parry maintained, or of the Church of Abbot Serlo, dedicated in 1100. The discussion was continued later on in the crypt itself, but the light was far from favourable for the consideration of a question of this nature, and no satisfactory conclusion was arrived at.

Before leaving the Chapter House the Rev. A. S. Porter read a paper on "The Ancient Encaustic Tiles in Gloucester Cathedral."

Votes of thanks were passed and the meeting adjourned.

In the meantime a small party visited the Roman remains in Lydney Park, where they were very hospitably entertained by Mr. Bathurst. The party, under the personal guidance of Mr. Bathurst, first walked round the site of the *Fanum Dei Nodontis*. The temple—sometimes misnamed villa or camp—was excavated at the beginning of this century and has since been covered up, but the foundations of many parts are still visible. The celebrated inscribed mosaic, laid by a naval officer Flavius Senilis, has unfortunately been destroyed by the action of the weather in the long space of time (C.I.L. vii, 137). The visitors then inspected Mr. Bathurst's private collection of objects found in the temple, including three curious lead tablets (C.I.L. vii, 138-140). Mr. Haverfield was lucky enough to detect two or three small inscribed objects which have not been edited; these he will publish in his next article on Romano-British Inscriptions in the *Journal*. The visitors are much indebted to Mr. Bathurst for the great kindness with which he made their visit as pleasant and successful as it could be.

At 2 p.m. the members assembled in the choir of the Cathedral, where Professor Middleton read a most instructive paper upon the architectural history of the building. With Mr. Waller's book in their hands the visitors were the better able to follow the speakers, very clear description of the structural changes that had taken place in this "the cradle of Perpendicular." Mr. Middleton gave a capital description of the construction, the scheme of colouring, and the details of the great east window, and called particular attention to the fearlessness with which architectural difficulties, apparently insuperable, had been over-

come. A general perambulation of the cathedral, the cloisters, &c., was finally made, and the large party appropriately ended their labours by a visit to tea at the Prior's Lodge, now the Deanery, where the courteous hospitality of Mrs. Spence and the Dean was agreeably supplemented by an inspection of this highly interesting Norman house.

A special service took place in the Cathedral at 6 o'clock, and in the evening a charming *conversazione* was given in the Shire Hall by the Mayor and Corporation of Gloucester. Here, again, archæology was not forgotten; a large number of city charters and documents being exhibited, and a fine collection of the corporation insignia of Gloucester, Weymouth, Marlborough, East Retford, &c., worthily illustrated a paper by Mr. St. John Hope, which he read in the course of the evening.¹ A selection of vocal and instrumental music agreeably diversified the proceedings.

Friday, August 15th.

At 10.35 a.m. the members went by rail to Cheltenham and proceeded in carriages to Winchcombe. Here, the large fifteenth century parish church was described by Mr. Micklethwaite. It is chiefly remarkable for having been built new without its form being in any way influenced by an earlier building on the same site. Such cases are very rare in England, as they could only happen where a parish church was moved to a new site, which was seldom done. The cause of it here, as in some other examples, was the usurpation of the original parish church by the great Benedictine abbey close by. The parish was there before the abbey, and the first settlement of monks was made in its already existing church, of which the community became the rector, the parishioners, of course, retaining their old rights in it, and keeping them, when in due time their little church was pulled down to make way for the stately minster raised by the monks. But then the monks looked upon the whole as their own, and came to regard the parish as the intruders, which they themselves were. Disputes naturally arose, the free access of the seculars to their church at all times was troublesome to the convent; and the parishioners resented the restrictions upon their liberty which the monks tried to lay upon them. At length, for the convenience of both parties, the present church was built to belong to the parish only which thereupon gave up its rights in the abbey church.

Until within memory, the chancel of Winchcombe was fitted up with seats all round after the puritan fashion, which, probably, now survives nowhere except at Deerhurst.

After luncheon at the White Hart some of the members made their way to Spoonley, a recently uncovered Roman villa, about two miles from Sudeley. The site of the villa, like that of Chedworth (seen later during the meeting), was covered with wood which still hides the forecourt; as is so often the case, the villa had been built near a stream.

On the arrival of the visitors, Professor Middleton taking his stand in the centre of the ruins, pointed out the special objects of interest. He said that the villa was built on the typical cloister-like plan, and he directed attention to the large chamber, double in plan, occupying a central position on the principal side of the court, naming it the *Tablinum*.

¹ Printed at p. 369.

Next to this, a smaller room with traces of a mosaic floor, lying in a small court, and raised upon a hypocaust, was pointed out as a winter *Triclinium*. In this room, Professor Middleton remarked, one point of interest was that the disposition of the floor mosaics showed how the furniture of the room had been disposed. Further on, the kitchen with its stone table and well were examined, and lastly the baths, lying on the south-west side, were pointed out and commented upon, one room of which heated by a hypocaust, with seven ascending wall flues, contains the fragments of a good mosaic pavement, which from its design may be of early date. This room (in which is brought together a collection of various objects found in the excavations), and the one called the *Triclinium* have had their walls carried up and roofed over, the roofs being formed of the old stone roofing slabs found about the villa.

Professor Middleton explained that nearly all the rooms on the south-west side had been warmed by hypocausts, the corresponding side not being so warmed. In the forecourt of the villa, as yet but partially excavated, he pointed out the foundations of a building divided into three aisles by squared blocks of stone which may have formed the bases for wooden posts. This was thought to be a barn, though opinions differed as to what agricultural purpose it might have served. A hope was expressed that the forecourt would be cleared out entirely at some future time, a good work much to be desired.

The site of the villa is on the estate of Mrs. Dent of Sudeley Castle, to whom, and to the late Mr. Dent, Professor Middleton said antiquaries were indebted for the excavation and preservation of the remains, and thanks were also due to the Rev. W. Bazeley for the excellent manner in which the excavations had been conducted under his supervision.

It is much to be desired that many fragments of architectural detail scattered about the ruins may be collected and placed under cover as they are of considerable value to a true understanding of the arrangements of the building.

The bulk of the party drove to Sudeley Castle where they were most kindly received by Mrs. Dent. Under the accomplished and friendly guidance of Mr. Cripps the restored and enlarged castle was seen, and some hours spent in inspecting the numberless, and many priceless, and historic art treasures with which the castle is filled. The picturesque old world garden with its topiaries, the chapel, and tomb of Katherine Parr, and the tythe barn having been seen, Mrs. Dent received the party most hospitably at tea, and, driving back to Cheltenham, the members reached Gloucester by special train at 7 p.m.

At 8.30 the Antiquarian Section met in the Tolsey, Professor E. C. Clark in the chair. Mr. Hartshorne read a paper on "Hanging in Chains," in the course of which he treated of the public exposure of the bodies of criminals upon gibbets among the ancient Jews, the Egyptians, the Greeks, the Etruscans, and the Romans. It appeared that the punishment was not legally recognized in England until 1752, and that it never at any time formed part of the sentence in England, though it did so in Scotland, but that the judge could, by the Act of 1752, in special cases, or on the application of the relatives of the murdered man, direct the gibbeting of the body of the murderer. The popular notion that men were ever hung up alive in chains was examined and set aside, Mr. Hartshorne stating that the Statutes at Large might be

vainly searched for the slightest evidence of such wanton barbarity. Passing into France the remarkable Gibet de Montfaucon was described. The strong measures taken for the suppression of the second Northern Rising supplied many instances of gibbeting in chains, the difference between a gallows and a gibbet being shown. It appeared from the evidence of Weaver, and of the Pilgrim's Progress that, while hanging in irons and chains was no uncommon practice in the seventeenth, it rapidly increased in the eighteenth century, gibbets becoming very thick on the ground after the Act of 1752, the public exposure of human bodies being, however, like the Rack, rather a discipline of state than of law. In tracing down his subject Mr. Hartshorne quoted numerous examples up to 1834, when gibbeting was finally abolished, and illustrated his remarks by full-sized drawings of men in chains or in irons, and exhibited two sets of chains, lent by the obliging courtesy of the Rev. J. W. Tottenham, which had formerly sustained the bodies of pirates on the banks of the Thames.

Mr. A. Watkins followed with an excellent discourse, capitably illustrated by lime-light pictures, on Herefordshire pigeon houses. This will appear in a future *Journal*.

Votes of thanks were passed to Mr. Hartshorne and to Mr. Watkins, and the meeting separated.

Saturday, August 16th.

At 10 a.m., the Antiquarian Section met in the Tolsey, the Rev. A. S. Porter in the chair. Mr. C. T. Davis read a paper on "The Monumental Brasses of Gloucestershire," which will appear in a future *Journal*.

The Historical Section then met, Mr. T. H. Baylis in the chair. Mr. F. A. Hyett read a paper on "A Civil War Tract," which will appear in due course in the *Journal*.

Votes of thanks to Mr. Davis and to Mr. Hyett brought the work in the Sections to a conclusion.

At 1.18 p.m. the Members went by rail to Woodchester to inspect the famous Roman pavement. We are indebted to Mr. G. E. Fox for the following notes:—

"This is the pavement of the principal room in the great Roman villa, unearthed by Samuel Lysons, and described by him in his magnificent work entitled, 'An account of Roman Antiquities discovered at Woodchester, 1797.' It is carefully uncovered periodically and then as carefully re-buried, a far better way of preserving it than keeping it permanently open. Besides the uncovering of the pavement some excavations had been made in neighbouring fields to test the accuracy of Lysons' plans. The pavement itself lies within the boundaries of a churchyard attached to a church of the twelfth century, now in ruins. The churchyard is no longer used.

"On Saturday on the visit of the members of the Archaeological Institute, Professor Middleton said a few words in description and explanation of the pavement. He considered it the floor of the Tetrastyle Atrium of the villa. The subject of the mosaic picture, he said, was Orpheus charming the beasts. Pavements with the same subject had been found in Africa, in Numidia, and especially one at Constantine. He remarked on the brilliancy of the colouring,

which, although the materials of which the mosaics were composed were all of native stones, vied in brightness of effect with the marble tessellated floors he had mentioned. Besides the foreign examples mentioned by Professor Middleton, pavements still exist or have existed in this country showing the same subject as that at Woodchester. A notable one remains at Cirencester; another now destroyed, was found at Withington, both in Gloucestershire. Others were to be seen at Winterton and Horkston in Lincolnshire, and one of rude workmanship, adorns the great corridor of the villa at Beading in the Isle of Wight."

Leaving Woodchester station at 3, Stroud was soon reached, and from hence the members drove viâ Painswick to Prinknash Park. The party was received and hospitably entertained in this interesting old house, by Mr. and Mrs. T. Dyer Edwardes. The Rev. W. Bazeley here read a paper of much historical value, which will appear in a future *Journal*.

Gloucester was again reached at 7.15.

On Sunday, at 3 p.m. the members of the Institute met in the Chapter House and accompanied the Mayor and Corporation to service in the Cathedral. The sermon was preached by the Dean of Gloucester, from John xvi, 29.

Monday, August 18th.

At 9.20 a.m. the members went by rail to Andoversford, driving on to Withington Church. This Norman church, with a central tower, was described by Professor Middleton, who pointed out the re-use of the Romanesque materials in Transition and Early English work in the chancel. This church is one of those handled by the late Mr. Petit in his *Architectural Notes in the neighbourhood of Cheltenham, Journal* Vol. iv., p. 106. In the church Mr. Middleton "pointed out an Early English window arch made of stones with chevron mouldings of that date, which had been reset after the destruction of the old window when the chancel was built at a later period. Underneath this window, on the north, or gospel, side of the altar, could still be seen an almost unique example of a water cistern for the ablution of the chalice, with an opening below for a leaden cock and spout. The stone trough, however, containing the lost lead tank, has been removed from its former site during recent restoration." This is the sort of thing "restoration" does for us!

Continuing the journey to Chedworth the Roman villa was reached at 12.30. After luncheon Mr. G. E. Fox undertook the guidance of the party. He first described the general plan of the Roman villa as consisting of two courts, the outer for the farm buildings and the inner for the habitation of the owner. The outer court can now only be traced by a long line of chambers on its northern side, but the inner court is perfect and follows the same cloister-like plan as that of the Spoonley villa.

On the west side lies the *Triclinium* with the remains of a fine mosaic floor which, by the plan of its mosaics, shows what portions of the room were occupied by the couches and table, and what was left open for the service. Mr. Fox pointed out that the mosaics in the latter division, exhibited in panels a dance of fairies and bacchantes round a central panel, now unfortunately lost, but the figure in which, in all probability, represented the wine god himself; and that the angles of the pavement were

occupied by figures representing the genii of the seasons, the one of winter being especially interesting as exhibiting the costume worn at that season in Roman times in this country. The baths on the same side as the Triclinium were then inspected, and some discussion was raised as to the methods of Roman bathing, and doubts were expressed as to the existence here of the hot water bath. These doubts were set at rest by the pointing out of its remains.

The party then continued the examination of the ruins by the inspection of the north side, where Mr. Fox indicated the curious alterations made in the original plan of the villa at this point, in the late Roman times, to fit it for the purposes of a Fullery and Dye House. He also said that from a careful examination of the site he believed that the stones found in this villa, and preserved in its Museum, bearing the now famous *Graffiti* of the Chi-Rho, formed some of the steps to the Fuller's court.

Mr. Fox further pointed out a recess in the hill side with an apsidal end, containing an octagonal tank fed by a spring. This he thought might be a *Nymphaeum*. A small altar was found in it. He then ended the round of inspection by indicating the position of the burial place attached to the villa, and now deeply buried in the neighbouring woods; and he begged to point out how much archæology was indebted to the present owner of the site, the Earl of Eldon, for the care with which one of the most interesting relics of the Roman time had been preserved in the state in which it was first discovered, a protection extending over now more than twenty years.¹

From Chedworth the party drove to Northleach church which was well described by the Rev. J. W. Sharpe. It is a building of much value both from the high character of the work and the fact of its having been built in great part by the munificence of wealthy wool-staplers, about the middle of the fifteenth century, who lie buried under brasses of interest within its walls. The altar cloth was seen to be formed of portions of copes.

Gloucester was again reached at 7 o'clock.

The general concluding meeting took place at 9 in the Tolsey. The Rev. Sir Talbot Baker took the chair, and alluded in sympathetic terms to the sad event that had overshadowed that day's proceedings. Mr. Hamilton Ross had passed away at the hotel early that morning, and, as a mark of respect to the memory of a friend and comrade who had for many years taken part in their Annual Meetings, the Council had determined to omit any formal visit to Berkeley Castle on the ensuing day. The Council had directed Mr. Gosselin to offer to Mrs. Ross on their behalf, and on that of the members present at the meeting, their warm sympathy with her on so melancholy an occasion.

After some general remarks upon their archæological pursuits, and the advantage of their meeting together year by year, Sir Talbot passed on to notice some of the losses which they had suffered by death since the last meeting, particularly mentioning their old and valued friend Mr. Scarth. Touching upon the special antiquarian features which were brought before them year after year at their annual gatherings, the pre-historic antiquities of Wiltshire, seen in 1887, the mediæval remains in Warwickshire, in

¹ For Mr. Fox's account of Chedworth Villa see *Journal*, V. xlv. p. 322.

1888, the ecclesiastical fabrics of Norfolk in 1889 were mentioned and contrasted, while the Roman villas of Gloucestershire would long dwell in their memories as the distinctive features of the meeting of 1890. He had the honour to propose "that the Royal Archaeological Institute desire to record their thanks to Sir John Dorington for presiding over the Gloucester meeting, and for his Inaugural Address." This was seconded by Mr. Micklethwaite, and carried with acclamation.

Professor E. C. CLARK proposed "that the Institute desires to express its thanks to the Mayor and Corporation of Gloucester for their hospitable reception, and for the facilities afforded for its meetings." This was seconded by Mr. CATES.

Mr. BAYLIS proposed and Mr. TYSON seconded a vote of thanks to the Bishop of Gloucester, to the Dean, and to those who have accorded hospitality to the Institute.

Mr. CHANCELLOR FERGUSON proposed and Mr. WALFORD seconded a vote of thanks to the presidents of sections, and to the readers of papers.

Mr. BUTTERWORTH proposed and Mr. JONES seconded a vote of thanks to the President, the Secretary, and the members of the Bristol and Gloucester Archaeological Society for their hearty co-operation in promoting the success of the meeting.

The following new members were elected:—Mrs. Longden, proposed by Mr. Longden, seconded by Mr. Micklethwaite; Dr. Truman, proposed by Mr. Carter, seconded by Mr. Gosselin; the Rev. W. Bazeley, proposed by Professor Clark, seconded by the Rev. Sir Talbot Baker; Professor Montagu Burrows, proposed by Mr. Rowley, seconded by Mr. Gosselin; Mr. F. W. Waller, proposed by Mr. Green, seconded by Mr. Gosselin; Mr. A. Tilley, proposed by Professor Middleton, seconded by Mr. Micklethwaite.

On the suggestion of Mr. Chancellor Ferguson the invitation from the Society of Antiquaries of Edinburgh, to the Institute to hold its Annual Meeting next year in the "Modern Athens" was read amid much applause. A vote of thanks to the Chairman brought the Gloucester Meeting to an end.

On Tuesday, August 19th, some of the members paid an unofficial visit to Berkeley Castle and Church, under the guidance of the Rev. W. Bazeley. In this historic castle there was a great amount of interest, as well documentary as architectural. In the great hall many valuable charters, from the vast contents of the muniment room, were laid out for inspection, and commented upon with unerring skill by Mr. W. H. Jeayes, whose printed descriptive catalogue is a work to look forward to. Mr. Bazeley took charge of the party in their perambulation of the castle, showing himself a most agreeable *cicerone*, and thoroughly conversant with his subject. A vote of thanks to him, proposed in happy terms by Mr. Chancellor Ferguson, brought this interesting visit to a close.

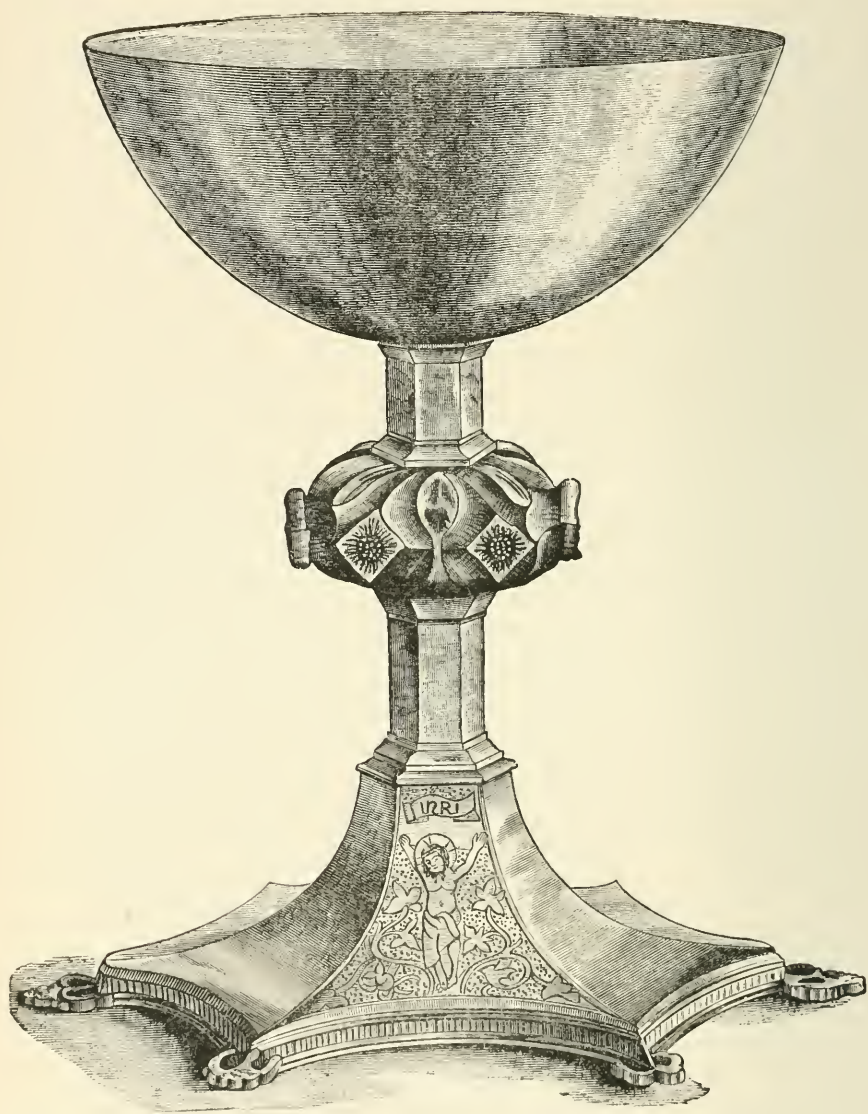
Notices of Archaeological Publications.

AN INVENTORY OF THE CHURCH PLATE OF LEICESTERSHIRE, with Some Account of the Donors. By the Rev. ANDREW TROLLOPE, B.A. Leicester : Clarke and Hodgson, 5, Gallowtree Gate, 1890. 2 vols, 4to.

These two handsome quartos contain certainly the most honest and most systematic investigation into the Church Plate of any district ever made. The labour involved, extending over six years, must have been immense ; there has been no shirking it ; no working the district by the unsatisfactory means of circulars. Mr. Trollope has personally examined every single piece of plate (not far below a thousand in number) enumerated in this vast catalogue, and has given a full and technical description, with measurements and weights, of each piece. Mr. Trollope's notion of "Some account of the donors" covers the bringing together of a mass of genealogical, and heraldic matter as to Leicestershire squires and parsons, that would well stock a county history of the old-fashioned size and ponderosity. It would seem, should Mr. Trollope find imitators, that pedigrees and armorial bearings, now banished from the modern seven-and-penny county histories, will find refuge in inventories of Church Plate. Imitators of Mr. Trollope can, however, hardly be hoped for, except *longo intervallo* ; not only has a wealth of labour (evidently of love) been bestowed upon the production of this book, but there is a luxury in print, in paper, and in broad margins, and a revelling in illustrations, that bespeak an outlay, which, commercially, cannot hope for any adequate return. It is too much to hope that a copy of this book may find its way into each Leicestershire parish, but a copy should find its way into the library (we had almost said the deed chest) of each family mentioned in the work ; gratitude to Mr. Trollope should insure this.

The first volume of 430 pages and 57 illustrations is the inventory proper : it is preceded by thirty-six pages : these contain the introduction, and also the additions and corrections, which are thus brought into very useful prominence. In the introduction Mr. Trollope shews the vast wealth of plate given and bequeathed to churches in mediæval times, and he tells what he calls the "oft-told tale" of what has become of it all ; how it is that in Leicestershire there is, with the exception of some half dozen pieces, nothing older than the reign of Elizabeth. The theft by Henry VIII. of monastic plate brought parochial plate into jeopardy. The evil example of plunder so set made sacrilege fashionable, and the vestries took alarm. They began to sell their plate, expending the proceeds on the repairs of their churches. This movement received an impetus from the injunctions of





Chalice at Blaston St. Giles, Circa 1500, About full size.



Chalice at Wymeswold. 1512. Full size.

the first year of Edward VI. (1547), and from the visits to each parish of the King's Commissioners to see if there remained any "monuments of idolatry, superstition, and hypocrisy." In the following year (1548) Commissioners were appointed to make inventories of church goods, with the view of stopping further sales of plate. This may possibly have stayed the sale of actual plate, but churchwardens continued to raise money for church purposes by sale of bells, altar furniture, and church goods, rendered useless by the change of ritual. In 1552 Commissioners were again sent round; they took away all the plate except one chalice and its paten in a small parish and two in a large one; they also took all vestments of any value and made exact inventories of the goods left in each parish. In the middle of Queen Mary's reign she appointed Commissioners to enquire into the doings of the second set, or the Commissioners of Edward VI., but the parishes got nothing back. The reign of Elizabeth found each parish with one chalice and its paten, or two according to size, and no other plate. Then the Puritan followed the plunderer, and the mediæval chalice was ordered to be exchanged for a "decent Communion Cup." This was done; the actual silver was in most cases melted down and re-made. Few escaped the pot but by happy chance or careful concealment. In Leicestershire only six pieces survived—two chalices and four patens.

The two chalices are hardly happy specimens. That belonging to the parish of Blaston St. Giles in the Deanery of Gartree III., has been restored in 1842 at a cost of £14 14s.; the restoration appears to have included a new bowl, and much engraving and retouching up—obviously a great deal of mischief can and has been done for £14 14s. This chalice much resembles the well-known one at Hornby, in Lancashire. It has a modern bowl, hexagonal stem, knop with six bosses bearing daisies in relief, mullet foot with loops or knots by way of toes. Mr. Trollope assigns this chalice to *circa* 1450. The other mediæval chalice, if chalice a thing can be called that in no way resembles a chalice, belongs to the parish of Wymeswold in the Deanery of Goscote II. It has three hall marks. 1. Small black-letter P in outline shaped to letter—London date letter for 1512. 2. Leopard's head crowned within a circle. 3. A tun in an oblong. This cup has a wide, shallow, straight-sided bowl resting on a conical stem and foot. Around is inscribed in Tudor letters SOLI DEO HONOR ET GLORIA. It has been suggested that this ugly piece of plate was originally a ciborium or pix. A similar cup with cover is at S. Mary's Church, Sandwich, Kent, and is engraved in the *Archæologia Cantiana*, vol. xvi, p. 329, and has on it THIS IS THE COMMUNION CUP. This type of cup is frequently to be found in Scotland: the theory is, that when the Scotsmen gave up their chalices, they economically utilised their ciboria as cups, thus getting a large awkward cup, whose awkwardness was minimised by their habit of receiving, sitting at a table. The type "caught on" in the Scotch Church, and ciboria-shaped communion cups were frequently made in Scotland in the 17th century; some twenty were exhibited in Edinburgh in 1886; more clumsy vessels could hardly be imagined. In the English Church, where kneeling is the rule, the ciboria-type of cup did not take, and but a couple or so of the ciboria now survive. The Wymeswold cup or ciborium much resembles a class of drinking cups common *circa* 1400 in Austria, the north of Italy and

the south of France, in which a second cup inverts upon the first as its cover: illustrations are given in the *Archaeological Journal*, vol. xi, pp. 186, 187. The mouldings on the foot of the Wymeswold cup are peculiar—the sort that in architecture would be distinguished as mouldings that will hold water.

There is a third mediæval chalice in Leicestershire at the private chapel at Launde Abbey, but it was purchased in London half a century ago, and is of foreign make, to all appearance made out of two chalices, the stem knop and bowl from one, and the foot from another. We are indebted to our author's kindness for the loan of the blocks of the Blaston St. Giles and Wymeswold cups.

The paten at Great Easton is assigned by Mr. Trollope to 1350, and is believed by him to be the oldest piece of church plate in the county; so far as is known, no paten that can be classified with it has yet turned up. It has a rim like a plate within which is an eight-lobed depression, whose points meet a circular central depression, within which is the device of the Vernicle. The other three patens Tugby *circa* 1480, Ratcliffe and Syston both *circa* 1500, are of ordinary types.

Of the Elizabethan communion cups in Leicestershire, Mr. Trollope points out that no two are exactly alike, except when made by the same maker, and even then a perfect match is rarely obtained. He points out, what perhaps has not been noticed before, that the Elizabethan cups marked with the London assay marks are superior in shape and decoration to those supposed to be by country smiths, and the numerous illustrations given in his second volume quite bear out this statement. Leicestershire has four groups of Elizabethan cups marked with a maker's mark only, thirty pieces in all. These were probably cups made to order out of the silver of massing chalices, and thus, not being "set for sale," would not require to be assayed. The first group is one of seven, all found in the N.E. quarter of the country, clustered round Melton. The mark is *a leopard's face in a shaped outline*. From the bold curves and good finish, Mr. Trollope thinks that these were made in London and distributed by a silversmith at Melton, who got them from London, as most silversmiths nowadays get their wares from Sheffield or Birmingham. A little group of three are marked with *a maiden's head couped at the shoulders in a shaped shield between G.N. or N.G.* There is little clue as to where these cups originated, probably from London through the agency of the supposed middleman at Melton. Another group of three bear *a cross between four pellets in a dotted circle*, a mark said also to occur in the county of Warwick, which leads to the suggestion that they were made at Coventry. Then there are seventeen cups with a mark called and somewhat resembling, *a rose*. Five more, without any marks at all, so closely resemble these seventeen that they must be by the same maker. He was evidently a provincial—in design and construction he is decidedly inferior to the London makers, his curves are not so fine, flatter; his bowls are in two pieces, the upper part being inserted into a shallow saucer with a turned up projecting edge. This is clumsy work compared with the London smith, by whom the bowls were beaten out of one sheet of metal. The craftsmen employed by the maker with the *rose* mark were certainly far inferior as hammermen to the London craftsmen. Some of our readers may recollect that the Carlisle Elizabethan silversmith, Edward Dalton, made

the bowls of his communion cups in two pieces. The provincial smiths in range of work far excelled the London men, who were specialised and of great skill in one branch of their trade, while the provincial smiths were blacksmiths, whitesmiths, silversmiths, and goldsmiths all in one. Edward Dalton probably sold many more pairs of spurs in a year than he did silver cups, and he repaired the city's muskets, as well as kept the corporation plate in order. The Elizabethan armourers who could do, what no smith of the present day can do, viz., hammer a sheet of metal up into a combed morion, could have had no difficulty in hammering a sheet of silver into the bowl of a communion cup. But such a degree of skill in either metal, or rather in both metals, was probably only to be found in London and at a few special centres.

With the exception of the twenty-two cups of the *rose* mark group, Leicestershire is singularly destitute of specimens of church plate from provincial assay offices: four of modern Newcastle exhaust the list, for we do not count the Sheffield and Birmingham examples that are frequent since 1800. Three of the Newcastle pieces bear the well known *gem ring* mark of John Langland, a mark which he probably took on succeeding to the business of Isaac Cookson, who also used it. Some half-dozen specimens of German work occur: a covered cup at Waltham-on-the-Wolds has the Nuremberg mark on its bowl and the Augsburg mark on its foot. This is clearly a make up from two genuine cups, both *circa* 1610, and was purchased in 1842 from a well-known London silversmith. Wanlip, in addition to an English silver gilt cup with its patent of 1636, has a German basin, a Spanish dish, and a Portuguese flagon (Lisbon mark), all of silver, and all marked Wanlip, 1815.

Mr. Trollope goes much more fully into the pewter vessels of his district than previous writers have done in their districts. He gives a rough chronological table of the pieces he has inspected, some three hundred or so in number. He gives the marks upon them, consisting generally of several separate marks in imitation of those upon silver. All these Mr. Trollope includes under the term of makers' marks: in the present state of our knowledge about pewterers' marks, he is right in so doing; we cannot assign to each of the marks on a piece of pewter a meaning, as we can to each of those on a piece of silver. Apparently each maker had his real mark, such as the "swan under an archway," used by James Hogg, of Newcastle; in addition to which he stamped on his work three or four small marks in as near imitation of the hall marks on silver as the law let him do. Thus I. Hardman stamps his name and a crown with the Prince of Wales' feathers as his mark, to which he adds four oblongs containing respectively a lion passant, a leopard's head, a cock, and I.H. In many cases a letter appears in one of these subsidiary marks, and it did occur to us that this letter might be identical with and change with the silver date letter—an idea we soon abandoned. Some marks appear to be used by several makers, the "swan and archway" appear on London as well as on Newcastle pewter. X under a crown is a universal mark, and probably, as a writer has suggested, is the equivalent of XXX on a barrel of beer. The Cripps of pewter has yet to arise, and the field of labour awaiting him is extensive.

One fault we have to find with Mr. Trollope,—that he has needlessly helped to confuse the nomenclature of his subject by the introduction of

the word *knob* as the designation of the bulb on the stem of a chalice. The late Mr. Octavius Morgan, the father of modern writers on plate, long ago wrote :—

A chalice consists of three parts: the cup or bowl; the stem, which is its middle swelled into a bulb called the *knop*, and the foot.—*Archæologia*, vol. lxii, p. 413.

This passage is classical; embalmed in the *Archæologia*, its nomenclature may be considered to have received the sanction of the Society of Antiquaries of London, and has been adopted by subsequent writers of repute on the subject, Mr. Cripps for one. It should not be lightly disturbed, to the eternal confounding of future students: the habitual mediæval laxity of nomenclature is bad enough without the addition to it of modern confusion. But Messrs. Hope and Fallow, in their valuable paper on “English Mediæval Chalice and Patens,”¹ define a chalice as having three distinct parts.

(a) the bowl.

(b) the stem, which has a *knot* by which the vessel was held.

(c) the foot.

To the use of the word *knot* for the bulb on the stem, they have been led by some inventories, cited in their paper, in which *knot* is clearly so used, but they cite just as many inventories in which *knop* is used for the same thing. They also cite inventories in which *knoppes* or *knappes* are used for the projections or toes at the points of some mullet-footed chalices. These contradictory instances can in no way settle the nomenclature of the subject; they only prove that mediæval scribes were as liberal in their notions as to nomenclature, as they were in their notions as to spelling: every man did as he pleased. But it may be well to consider the nomenclature applied to swellings into bulbs on stems of analogous objects. In the *Archæological Journal*, vol. xviii, pp. 144 and 145, original documents of the time of Henry viii are printed, which show that the bulb on the stem of a glass cup was called a *knopp*; so also was the bulb on the handle of a spoon, or a fork. Such a bulb on a candlestick or its branches is also called *knop*, as may be seen by reference to the account of the seven-branched candlestick in the twenty-fifth chapter of Exodus: perhaps some persons would like to amend the passage by substituting throughout it *knot* or *knob* for *knop*, a sad descent to the commonplace. There can be little doubt that the compilers of the authorised version of the Bible would have used *knop*, and not *knot*, or *knob*, for the bulb on the stem of a chalice, or of a standing cup of metal or glass, or of a wineglass, on the stem or the branches of a candlestick, or on the shaft of a mace: the said compilers were good authorities on the English language. But leaving authority, let us go to common sense. Let our readers refer to Messrs. Hope and Fallow's picture² of one of the toes of the Hornby Chalice, which they call “*Knop* on foot of Hornby Chalice”, but is not this flat projection with its lobes and loops more sensibly called a *knot*, rather than a *knop*: and is not the bulb on the stem better described as a *knop*, than a *knot*.

To return to the volumes before us, the second contains about 100

¹ *Archæological Journal*, vol. xliii, pp. 137, 140. Also reprint with large additions, p. 4.

² Page 31 of their reprint “*English Mediæval Chalice and Patens*.”

pages of letter press and thirty-three plates of illustrations, beautifully rendered by the Typographic Etching Company : some of these plates contain as many as six pieces of plate, on either one half or one-third scale, so our readers will see what a wealth of pictures the work contains. The letter press is devoted to seven appendices. The first gives the inventories of church goods in 6 Edward VI. for two deaneries in which they have happened to survive. The second deals with the Commissioners of Queen Mary. The third gives a most useful piece of information—the dates of all the Leicestershire terriers in the Bishop of Lincoln's Registry at Lincoln, while any entries in them relating to church plate are printed *in extenso*. Most of the terriers of early date in the last century appear to include the plate, though not all. This was due to Bishop Wake (consecrated in 1705), who in his monition for his primary visitation ordered the churchwardens to include in the terriers,

Furniture in the church or chancel, the utensils, bells, clock, books, surplices, with the weight of the communion plate and the inscriptions thereon.

The list of terriers and their dates will be valuable to many besides those who take an interest in church plate, and many a tedious search may be saved by a glance at this appendix. Two other appendices contain inventories of Leicestershire church plate made by good archdeacons of Leicester, men in advance of their days, Bickham in 1775-80 and Bonney in 1832 : a portion only of the first archdeaconal inventory survives, while the second does not include the donatives and peculiars, which were exempt from the archdeaconal jurisdiction. Then follows a chronological list of the silver plate mentioned in this great work, with the makers' mark : this must have been a laborious task, and, if a suggestion might be hazarded, it is that an asterisk might well have been placed against all the makers' marks that appear in Mr. Cripps' list in *Old English Plate*. A summary of the pewter plate follows.

In parting with these two magnificent volumes, one cannot conscientiously say they are books to be continuously read : they are great books of reference, dictionaries of church plate, of makers' marks, of Leicestershire heraldry, and genealogy. Not that they are dull : far from it. A dip into them at random, anywhere, is sure to reveal something of more than parochial or county interest. Mr. Trollope has been lucky in his artist, Mr. Matthew Pearson, whose work cannot well be excelled ; and his printers deserve high praise. Excellent indexes add to the value of the book.

MARKET HARBOROUGH PARISH RECORDS TO A.D. 1530. By J. E. STOCKS, M.A., and W. B. BRAGG. London, 1890 : Elliot Stock, pp. 267.

It seems at first sight somewhat curious, considering the title of this book, that only pages 159 to 208 are really devoted to Market Harborough Parish Records. An introduction takes up 158 pages, and the rest of the book is made up of local wills and inventories from the registries at Leicester and Lincoln. Two short appendices, one of which contains some curious legal proceedings as to the appointment by the Rector of Little Bowden of a chaplain for Little Oxenden, and an excellent index make up the book.

The town of Market Harborough is singularly situated : it is in two counties and in four parishes, viz., Market Harborough, Great Bowden,

St. Nicholas Little Bowden, and St. Mary's Little Bowden (or St. Mary's-in-Arden). This affords opportunity for those bewildering complications of local government in which the British Constitution so much delights. St. Mary's-in-Arden, or St. Mary's Little Bowden, has its church in Leicestershire, and most of its parishioners inextricably mixed up with the parishioners of St. Nicholas, Little Bowden; but for ecclesiastical purposes it is united to Market Harborough, which was a chapelry of Great Bowden, while for civil purposes the two Little Bowdens (St. Mary's and St. Nicholas) are one parish. The whole form since 1880 one Local Board district, but how they are situated as regards the County Councils of Northamptonshire and Leicestershire we are not informed: possibly no one knows. The confusion in mediæval times was nearly as great. Harborough had no common fields of its own, but the men of Harborough had their holdings and common rights in the fields of Bowden Magna, in which fields also the men of St. Mary's Little Bowden had holdings, while they had further holdings in the fields of Little Bowden in Northamptonshire. To unravel this tangled skein, and to show how the tangle originated is the task the authors of this book have set before them in their lengthy introduction; to it we refer our readers for the solution. They have cast about far and wide for records that throw light on the subject, and so have gathered together incidentally valuable matter, much of which is most interesting to the student of early village communities and their growth into towns. The field names, all carefully brought together under one head in the index, are peculiar and will afford much opportunity for ingenious conjecture. The Market Harborough Parish Records, consisting mainly of small grants and demises are the mines from which these field names are disinterred. The wills and inventories given in the section devoted thereto are all of the early sixteenth century and of no special note: but the introduction contains some early ones; in particular one of Geoffrey le Scrope, rector of Great Bowden and Canon of Lincoln: the will is dated 1382, and contains much information about that cathedral. The family of Scrope figure prominently in the history of Market Harborough, they having had grants of the local manors. Of the index to this book we cannot speak too highly, but otherwise the arrangement is faulty; the sections into which the book is divided should have been numbered as chapters, and the *running head* changed on the *recto* with each chapter, as in other works issued by the same publisher: such a change is a great assistance in consulting a book.

STAFFORD IN OLDEN TIMES, being a reprint of articles published in THE STAFFORDSHIRE ADVERTISER with illustrations. Compiled and edited by J. L. CHERRY, Stafford, J. & C. Mort, Octavo: pages 152.

The ephemeral literature of every county, of every city, and of every place contains much that is of permanent interest to the antiquary, to the genealogist, to the historian, and to the students of men and manners, but the paragraphs of a provincial paper, six months old, are entombed as surely as are the coffins in a family vault: a search through the one is about as cheerful a task as through the other. Thus it comes to pass that a well selected volume of departed paragraphs is a welcome contribution to the common stock of local and general information,

frequently containing items of intelligence nowhere to be found. The volume before us is remarkable as preserving from oblivion papers of rare merit upon the Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Norman coins, struck at the Stafford mint. A well executed plate with illustrations of fourteen of these coins is given with the volume, all silver pennies. Of the Anglo-Saxon pennies from the Stafford mint no examples are known, as the book under review says, in English collections: the only examples are in the cabinets of Stockholm and Copenhagen, where exist immense numbers of Anglo-Saxon coins found in Sweden and Denmark; how those coins got to those countries, and how they, escaping the melting pot or other untoward fate, got into these cabinets, is matter for much speculation on early trade routes, with philosophical observations on the laws of treasure trove prevailing in those countries and in this we forbear here to go into these questions. This article on the Stafford mint, with its illustrations, is the gem of the book. Hardly inferior to it in interest is an account of the trial in 1726, at Stafford, of Edward Elwall, a tradesman, of Wolverhampton, for heresy and blasphemy. Elwall held Unitarian doctrines, and advocated them in several tracts, published from time to time, particularly one in 1716, but it was not until ten years later that the neighbouring clergy indicted him at the assizes at Stafford. He was tried before Judge Denton, who took pains to see that he had fair play. Elwall conducted his own defence, and declined a suggestion from the bench that he should promise to write no more. The judge directed an acquittal.

Many curious paragraphs abound; our editor will be interested in those that relate to the hanging and quartering a priest in 1588, to the pressing a man to death in 1674 because he refused to plead, and to various executions on the gallows. In 1621 it cost six shillings to whip six rogues, and their meat cost eightpence, but in 1789 a guinea was charged for whipping a couple. Many extracts from the Corporation records and accounts are given. It is to be regretted that these were not printed together and in chronological order, instead of being scattered anyhow over the book. The Maypole was disestablished in 1612, and it was made into a couple of ladders; at what cost cannot be told, as the sum paid is left in blank. So is the price of a sugar loaf bestowed upon Judge Warburton at the summer assizes in 1621, but 7s. 6d. is paid for two pottalls of wine and sugar for the Archbishop [*sic*: query Archdeacon] at a Visitation in 1634; this included a gallon of wine for the justices. In 1698 it appears the Corporation used to give the judges two dozen of wine, namely, four bottles of sack, eight of white wine, and twelve of claret, and also ale; while a peck of mixed peas, beans, and oats was allowed for each saddle horse, and a peck and a half for each coach horse. These donations were discontinued in the following year on account of the augmentation of the salaries of the judges. In 1672 and 1701, when the Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry visited the town, he got a dozen and a half of wine, six bottles of three sorts. In these degenerate days we are afraid bishops and judges might regard presents of wine as in the nature of a contempt of court, and be anything but civil to the Corporation who proffered such hospitality.

We must not omit to notice that in, addition to the plate of coins, the book contains some very good illustrations by Mr. Herbert Railton,

of St. Mary's Church, the ancient High House, the Noah's Ark (an old house), St. Chad's Church, the Castle Gate. As we have already hinted the book is ill arranged, or rather is not arranged at all: the paragraphs or articles skip from one subject to another in a way that makes the book very amusing reading for a spare half hour, but is perplexing to the student, say, of municipal customs, and usages who wishes to compare Stafford with some other town. Nor is the table of contents quite full enough to make up for the want of arrangement. Apart from this the book is a welcome one, and many newspapers might with advantage to the world, imitate the plucky example of "The Staffordshire Advertiser."

THE GENTLEMAN'S MAGAZINE LIBRARY : Being a Classified Collection of the Chief Contents of the *Gentleman's Magazine* from 1731 to 1868. Edited by GEORGE LAWRENCE GOMME, F.S.A. Architectural Antiquities, Part I. London : Elliot Stock, 1890.

The recent volume of this popular series is quite as interesting as its predecessors. It is remarkable in that the excerpts from the old magazine are the contributions of one man, and relate to one subject—the description and condition at the time these essays were written (from 1784 to 1816) of the most prominent of our national buildings in England and Wales—e.g., cathedrals, important parish churches, castles, ruined abbeys, &c., &c. The author was Mr. John Carter, an architect and antiquary of considerable repute. In his preface the Editor gives a brief biographical sketch of Mr. Carter's life. He was just fifteen years of age when his father died, leaving him unprotected and unprovided for, and, moreover, imperfectly educated, to fight the battle of life as best he might. He would seem, however, to have been a clever and sensible boy, a good draftsman, and fond of music. He had to choose his own walk in life, and he selected architecture, and set himself to make drawings and study the details and construction of the best examples of English architecture. He was now sixteen years of age, and commenced his labours by drawing the ruins of the Herald's Tower in Windsor Castle, with which his great and valuable collection of drawings, extending from this date to 1816 inclusive, commences. His talent for drawing soon brought him into notice, and he found sufficient employment for his pencil, and time as well, to study the principles of architectural design, and he executed some works of great merit.

The Editor relates that "When it was determined to build a new Sessions House on Clerkenwell Green, instead of the 'Old Hick's Hall,' the persons in authority advertised for designs, and promised to adopt that which should be approved of. Carter sent in a design, which was rejected for reasons which were to him the cause of singular mortification. He had in the *Builders' Magazine* inserted a design for a new Sessions House; this design was copied by some person from the magazine, offered to the county, accepted, and is the design for that building which is now standing on Clerkenwell Green. Those who possess the book may ascertain their identity by comparison. The magazine was published before the house was built, so that there is complete evidence that an artist of talents had his design for a building rejected in favour of a design that was likewise his own, but which had been artfully or luckily borrowed from an existing publication without

acknowledgement by some person who obtained all the credit and emolument, while the real inventor never received more than two or three guineas for his design. As the evidence is complete and the fact incontrovertible, I have much pleasure in mentioning the Sessions House on Clerkenwell Green as a further proof of Carter's talents as an architect.' (Preface, xi.) This was very vexatious, and Mr. Carter also suffered other disappointments, but he persevered and succeeded.

Mr. Carter's first communication to the "Gentleman's Magazine" was in 1784, and was anonymous, under the signature "An Architect," which signature he continued to use throughout. It had relation to the cathedral of Hereford, and affords evidence of his knowledge of the principles of architecture, and force of character. It appears that on viewing the cathedral, he noticed that the north-west angle of it appeared in a dangerous state, as several large fractures were apparent in many places. On expressing his apprehensions for the safety of the building, he was shewn what had lately been done for preserving it from any danger that might happen from such appearances. He was shewn a prodigious pile of masonry which had been raised against the inside walls of the above mentioned angle. This business he plainly observed, looked to him a palpable design to throw down the fabric, not to protect it. And his prediction, was but too soon verified.

Mr. Carter's nomenclature is very confusing in the present day, and the style in which he writes is very objectionable, and often offensive; but we can forgive him these faults, for his architectural descriptions are of great value, having been made just a century ago from an actual survey on the spot, and the editor assures us that he thinks the statements of facts may be relied upon, though he cautions the reader against accepting too implicitly the theories put forward by Mr. Carter. Carter had an absolute hatred of every thing like "sham," and just as fully disliked what even then, as now, is called "restoration." What would he have said of it if he had lived to see of it what we have seen during the last thirty or forty years! With all his faults we respect him, because we believe him to have been an honest man.

Writing from Canterbury in 1798, Mr. Carter says:—"In the cathedral the fine monument of Archbishop Warham has lately been beautified, an ominous term in the ears of an antiquary! the literal meaning of which is the whitewashing, painting, pewing, mutilating, and altering the several parts and arrangements of our ancient churches. In the above monument this modernizing system has much transformed it. The tomb, whereon lay the statue of the Archbishop, stood with its head abutting against the west end within the monument, leaving sufficient room not only for a passage from a door on the north side, which gave admittance from the adjoining buildings, but from a small altar at the east end, some of its appendages remaining, as the basin for the holy water, niches for the utensils of the altar, vestiges of the table, &c. Now this door and the altar appendages have been obliterated, and the statue and tomb moved into the centre of the monument, leaving an equal space on each side. Here, they say, they have improved the design of the monument, by making the several parts more uniform. Allowing this pretence, yet have they not in this innovation destroyed a link of the history of this cathedral?"

A very full and interesting description is given of the Abbey Church

of Westminster in 1799. Its then condition should be compared in detail with its present. The ancient palace of the Kings of England, then nearly adjoining, has also received a most careful survey. The description of what remained of the palace after the fire in the time of Henry VIII. down to the above-mentioned date shews that it must have been a superb residence. The apartments then existing are fully detailed, as are also the magnificent pieces of tapestry with which the rooms were adorned. This is of great interest, for not a vestige of it now exists. The great fire of 1834 consumed what the former fire had spared, and the Houses of Parliament have been built on its site. We are fortunate in possessing so painstaking and accurate a description as that furnished by Mr. Carter.

He seems to have visited all the more important buildings in England and Wales, and reported on them. We find notes, more or less extensive, on the Abbeys of Bermondsey, Coverham, Fountains, Howden, Jervaux, Kirkstall, Margam, St. Albans, St. Mary, York, Selby, Waltham, and Westminster; the Cathedrals of Bristol, Canterbury, Chichester, Gloucester, Hereford, Lichfield, Llandaff, Oxford, Peterborough, Ripon, Rochester, St. Albans, St. Davids, Southwell, Winchester, and York; the Castles of Abergavenny, Cardiff, Carew, Conisborough, Knaresborough, Middleham, Newark, Porchester, Raby, Raglan, Warwick, Windsor, and many others, together with innumerable other places of note. He gives a sad account, generally, of what he saw, but in some instances he was able to write in glowing terms of satisfaction. His reports would afford many extracts of considerable interest had we space, and we would commend the volume to the perusal of all who take an interest in Architecture and Antiquities.

Mr. Carter expresses his feelings in the following passage:—"Some few readers may be surprised at the concern which I express from the preservation of the antiquities of this kingdom, which a renegade antiquary lately told me 'in public were but a parcel of old walls and trumpery!' I presume to express myself a real antiquary; I venerate the history of my country, I venerate the names of the great, the warlike, and the good of former times; I venerate those astonishing, those magnificent fabricks, those enchanting monumental memorials, which they have left behind them as proofs of their enlightened genius and skill! Thus far as an antiquary, but as an artist, who from my earliest years have been in the habit of constantly admiring their sublime performances, in critically surveying and minutely copying of them, I cannot but feel in the most sensible degree any innovation made in their arrangement, or any destruction made in their several parts. And, however weak my efforts may be in the task which I have undertaken to point out to the public the pursuits of architectural innovation, and to stay its iron hand, yet I am confident my efforts will not be entirely in vain. In this consideration I shall continue to bring forward the observations which I have made in the various parts of the kingdom to this purpose."

Archæological Intelligence.

CUMREW CHURCH, CUMBERLAND.—During the recent re-building of Cumrew Church in Cumberland, the effigy in stone of a lady in a wimple, with a little dog at her head and another at her feet, was found buried under the floor, near where the chancel arch should have been, had one existed. This effigy must represent either Ann de Derwentwater, the first wife, or Joane Gernet, the second wife of William de Dacre who, in 1313, had licence to crenellate Dunwallocht Castle in Cumrew. Joane was the heiress who brought great Lancashire estates to the Dacres. She died in 1318 and with which date the costume of the effigy agrees.

Two effigies which have been long forgotten in a garden, have been put into Great Salkeld churchyard. They represent Antony Hutton and his wife : he was a Master in Chancery and died in 1637. They had a magnificent monument in Penrith church, which was turned out when this edifice was re-built in 1720. Since that time the effigies have been exposed to the air and are now moss-grown and weather worn. The lady wears a ruff and large sleeves ; he is in legal costume and gown with long sleeves and crackling on the shoulders.

Two other travelled effigies are those in Ainstable church, near Salkeld, to John Aglionby and Katherine Denton his wife. They were removed from St. Cuthbert's Church, Carlisle, when it was re-built in 1778.

A BOOK OF FACSIMILES OF INCISED SLABS ON THE CONTINENT OF EUROPE ; by the Rev. F. Creeny.—We had the pleasure on a former occasion (*Journal* vol. xlii, p. 123), of noticing Mr. Creeny's "Monumental Brasses on the Continent of Europe,"—a "monumental" work,—and now we announce the forthcoming appearance of another volume, smaller, indeed, in size, but which cannot fail to excite as much interest as its predecessor. In some respects "Incised Slabs" will be a more valuable work than "Monumental Brasses," partaking more of the nature of a record,—of "a brand snatched from the burning,"—because, as the learned Didron said some years ago "the beautiful stone engravings . . . are being effaced every day under the feet of the faithful." If this was the case on the Continent, much more has it been so in latter days in England, as regards effacement, where, not only the eager feet of the faithful, but, what has been unhappily, much worse, the vicious hands of the "restorers" have been busy.

We hope to have the pleasure of reverting to Mr. Creeny's book on a future occasion. In the meantime we shall content ourselves with

informing our readers that the new volume will contain between fifty and sixty full-page illustrations, 15 in. by 11 in., with descriptive notes, at the very moderate cost of £1 1s. 0d., to be raised after publication to £1 11s. 6d., and that names of subscribers should be sent without delay to the author, St. Michael at Thorn, Norwich.

ARCHITECTURE OF THE RENAISSANCE IN ENGLAND, illustrated by a series of views and details, from buildings erected between the years 1560-1630, with historical and critical texts; by J. Alfred Gotch, F.S.A., F.R.I.B.A., assisted by W. Talbot Brown, A.R.I.B.A.—Those of our readers who are fortunate enough to possess Mr. Gotch's charming volume on the buildings of Sir Thomas Tresham, will at once recognize that the treatment of so large a subject as that of the Architecture of the Renaissance in England has fallen into hands well qualified to deal with it. It requires, in fact, a man whose pen is as good as his pencil; Mr. Gotch shall speak for himself. In his prospectus he says:—

“Although the Architecture of the Renaissance in other countries has, during the last few years, received much attention, and been copiously illustrated, but little has been recently attempted towards illustrating the remains of the same period in England, and there seems some danger lest in the study of the multitude of foreign examples presented to us, the contemporary buildings in our midst should be neglected; yet the reign of Elizabeth was a time of great building activity, and was marked, both by the growth of that general desire for domestic comfort which is so pronounced a characteristic of the English race, and in many cases by a lavish display of magnificence in house-building befitting (and even more than befitting) the wealth and position of the builders. The desire for domestic comfort led to the erection or the re-modelling of a vast number of houses, from those of successful tradesmen to those of high State officials; whilst the desire for display led great noblemen to vie one with the other in the extent and splendour of the palaces they erected. From one end of the land to the other rich men built, adorning their houses with an infinite variety of detail, dictated by local conditions of material or modes of workmanship, but all conforming to the new style, which had found its way to every part of England, sometimes through France, sometimes through the Low Countries, and sometimes direct, from the main source of all artistic inspiration of the time—Italy; but in planting itself on English soil the new style assumed distinctly English characteristics, which it retained until it became submerged beneath the advancing tide of universal Classic. Many of these buildings, stately, picturesque, and rich in beautiful detail, both inside and out, remain to us to show how problems of design were solved, which, in their main conditions, come up for solution in the present day.”

The bringing out of a work of this kind is a very different matter to what it was in the days of Richardson, and Nash. With no idea of depreciating what was so well done, at that time, we may look forward with agreeable anticipations to the carrying out of Mr. Gotch's labours inasmuch as many of his illustrations will be produced by the Phototype process direct from the photograph, thus giving illustrations with such minute accuracy as would baffle the artistic capabilities of even Mr. Gotch himself. There will also be sheets of

measured details reproduced by photo-lithography from special drawings, as well as numerous sketches, plans, and profiles of mouldings, introduced into the letterpress. The author's hand being thus relieved, his mind will be free to deal with the letterpress in a manner worthy of the subject, and as he so well knows how to do.

The work will be published in six parts, folio (19 in. by 14 in.), each containing twenty-one plates, seventeen or eighteen of which will be reproduced from specially taken photographs. Price to subscribers £1 1s. the part. No. I. was issued in October, 1890. Names should be sent without delay to Mr. T. B. Batsford, 52, High Holborn, London.

THE BERKELEY CHARTERS.—A Descriptive Catalogue of Charters preserved in the Muniment Room of Berkeley Castle.—With the sanction of Lord Fitzhardinge, it is proposed in this volume to give short descriptions of about one thousand Charters and other records comprised in the extensive collections at Berkeley Castle, selected especially for their historical and antiquarian interest. A few of the earliest and most important will be printed in full.

The series, which dates back to the earlier half of the twelfth century, consists of numerous Royal Charters, original deeds relating to St. Augustine's Abbey, Bristol; St. Peter's, Gloucester; Kingswood Abbey; and other Religious Houses, and are illustrative of the genealogies of the noble families of Fitzhardinge, Berkeley, Belgrave, Gifford, Lacy, Mowbray, Segrave, etc., and their matches.

The volume will also contain descriptions of some selected State Papers, letters of royal and eminent persons, as well as some extracts from court and account rolls, some few of which refer to the history of King Edward II.

The members of the Institute who visited Berkeley Castle on August 19th, will be glad to hear that the noble display of Documents, concerning which, thanks to the friendly assistance of Mr. J. H. Jeayes, they learned not a little during their brief stay, are about to be made more publicly known. Mr. Jeayes announces that his Descriptive Catalogue in royal 8vo., price 10s. 6d., will be published by subscription early in 1891. Names of subscribers may be forwarded to Messrs. Jeffries, Canynge Buildings, Redcliff Street, Bristol.

ROCKINGHAM CASTLE, AND THE WATSONS.—Mr. C. Wise announces the forthcoming publication of a work upon a historic castle that has more than once been treated of in the *Journal*, and elsewhere. We shall be glad indeed to see these scattered notices brought together. And what a history Rockingham has! "Bovi" had his stronghold here, on the hill of the burh, in the days of King Edward. Here the Conqueror, with his unerring eye ordered a Castle to be built. Hither came Rufus, to confer with the masterful Anselm, in 1095, and on many other occasions, attracted by the delights of the Forest, —loving the red deer "as though he was their father"; Cœur de Lion was here in 1194; the ablest of the Angevin Kings constantly; Henry III. also; the great Edward more than once sojourned on the eminence overlooking the green vale of the Welland, and Edward III. attested many writs at Rockingham. The history of the forest, and its constables, teems with interest, and if that of the castle in its early architectural remains, is, in some respects, quite as

attractive as many like fortresses, its later architectural history under the Watsons is still more so, inasmuch as it has always been inhabited. An account of the family of the present owner, drawn from original family documents, and a chapter on the castle as it now is, by "G. L. W.," will be a welcome addition to Northamptonshire history. The latter in particular, as it will come from the pen of the worthy descendant of that Sir Lewis Watson, who wrote in letters of gold, still remaining on the beams of the great hall "THE : HOWSE : SHALL BE : PRESERVED : AND : NEVER : WIL : DECAYE : WHEARE : THE ALMIGHTIE : GOD : IS : HONORED : AND SERVED : DAYE : BY : DAYE : 1579." Names of subscribers to "Rockingham Castle, and the Watsons" crown 4to, 15s. should be sent to Mr. Elliot Stock, 62, Paternoster Row, London.

OLD WORCESTER.—A committee has been formed to preserve the old half-timbered Galleried House in the Trinity. This, the only remaining building of the kind in Worcester, happens to fall in the line of certain street improvements, which necessitate either its destruction, or its removal to immediately-adjacent ground, one yard outside its original site, offered by the Corporation. The committee have it in contemplation,—if they succeed in obtaining the funds necessary (about £200), to remove, and thus save this relic of old Worcester,—to fit and furnish the place so as to represent a Worcester Home of the fifteenth century. We cannot imagine that Worcester will lack the necessary public spirit for the preservation of a mediæval relic, which, under the proposed very sensible arrangement, would prove a constant source of gratification and instruction to the denizens of and visitors to the "Faithful City."

THE LAKE DWELLINGS OF EUROPE.—We have much pleasure in announcing that the long looked for book by Dr. Munro, being the Rhind lectures in Archæology for 1888 has made its appearance. It is evident from a cursory glance that this laborious and monumental work, with its two thousand illustrations, at once places Dr. Munro in the foremost rank of the prehistoric archæologists of Europe. We shall have occasion in the next *Journal* to call attention in detail to this valuable contribution to prehistoric literature. In the mean time our readers will be glad to know that the Rhind lectures of 1888 have made their appearance before the world.

VISIT OF THE INSTITUTE TO EDINBURGH IN 1891—PROPOSED EXHIBITION OF HERALDRY.—We understand that in connection with the visit to Edinburgh in the summer of 1891 of the Royal Archæological Institute, it is proposed to hold an exhibition of heraldry in its various aspects. A very fine exhibition of this kind was held at Berlin in 1882, but it is believed that this is the first which will be held in Great Britain. It will, it is hoped, be housed in the recently opened buildings of the Scottish National Portrait Gallery, the munificent gift to the nation of Mr. J. R. Findlay. Mr. Balfour Paul, Lyon King of Arms, acts as chairman of the committee which is in course of being formed; Mr. Ross, Marchmont Herald, undertakes the secretaryship of the historical section of the exhibition; while Dr. R. Anderson, architect, and Mr. J. M. Gray, Curator of the National Portrait Gallery, are at the head of the decorative section, a part of the collection which will appeal with effect to artists. A series of drawings and reproductions of painted and other heraldic decorations of old Scottish castles and mansions is to be prepared.

under the direction of Mr. Thomas Ross, architect, the joint author of "The Castellated and Domestic Architecture of Scotland;" while Mr. Stewart Smith superintends the production of a set of photographs illustrating examples of exterior heraldic sculpture throughout Scotland. Mr. A. W. Inglis is honorary treasurer to the exhibition, and it is hoped that sufficient subscriptions may be forthcoming to enable the committee to organize a thoroughly representative exhibition.

ARCHITECTURAL STUDIES IN FRANCE, by the late Rev. J. L. Petit.—A new edition of this picturesque volume has long been wanted and we are very glad to see that Messrs. Bell and Sons have lately brought it out. The wide range of Mr. Petit's observations, the wonderful grasp he had of his subject, the power of his mind, and the facility and unapproachable charm of his pencil will be fresh in the memories of the elder members of the Institute.

THE REV. GREVILLE I. CHESTER writes:—"I fear that I did not make it clear in my paper on the sculptures of Oriental design in Herefordshire, (see p. 140), *where* the roundels containing Bes and the Cyncephalus Ape are situated on the north doorway of Bredwardine church. They are not at the top of the arch, but in the centre of the flat stone which supports it and forms the base of the tympanum.

"Lately visiting the wonderful Norman church of Kilpeck, also in Herefordshire, I observed that a cone-bearing Tree of Life occupies the centre of the tympanum of the richly sculptured south doorway, and the same subject occurs also on the northern monolithic pillar of the chancel arch."

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